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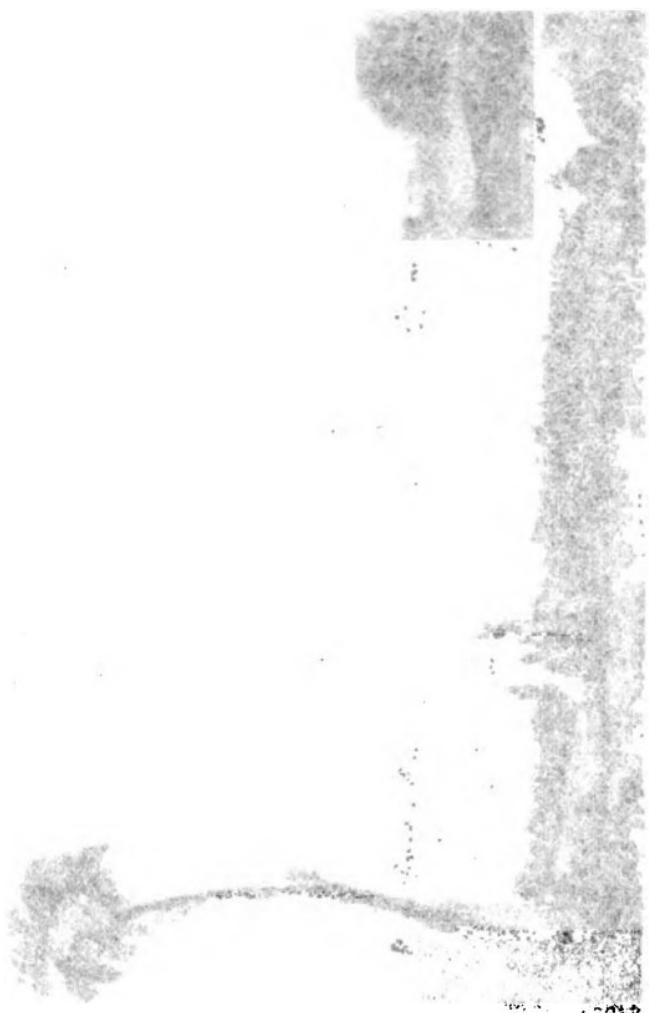
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R. MONTGOMERY MARTIN, F.S.S.

VOL. IX.

'**FAR as the breeze can bear—the billows foam,
SURVEY OUR EMPIRE!**'

LONDON:

WHITTAKER & Co. AVE MARIA LANE.

MDCCCXXXVII.

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HISTORY
OF
THE POSSESSIONS
OF THE HONORABLE
EAST INDIA COMPANY.

BY

R. MONTGOMERY MARTIN, F.S.S.



SEAL OF THE HON. EAST INDIA
COMPANY.

VOL. II.

LONDON:
WHITTAKER & Co. AVE MARIA LANE.

MDCCCXXXVII.

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EAST INDIES.

BOOK I.

BENGAL, MADRAS, AND BOMBAY.

CHAPTER I.

**GOVERNMENT (ENGLISH AND INDIAN) OF BENGAL, MADRAS,
AGRA AND BOMBAY—THE COURTS OF DIRECTORS—AND
PROPRIETORS—THEIR RELATIVE AUTHORITY—BOARD OF
CONTROL—DUTIES OF THE CIVIL SERVANTS—LAW COURTS,
&c. &c.**

THE government of the British possessions on the continent of Asia, is vested at home in two powers with co-ordinate authority,—viz. the East India Company, and a Ministerial Board, termed Her Majesty's Commissioners for the affairs of India, the latter being devised by Mr. Pitt as a check upon the political proceedings of the former. A few words will be requisite to explain this complex authority.

THE COURT OF DIRECTORS.—The more immediate governing power of British India, and consequently the patronage attached thereto, is vested in the Court

of Directors, or executive body of the East India Company. The capital stock of this company is 6,000,000*l.* sterling, which is divided according to a recent calculation, among 3,579 proprietors, of whom 53 have four votes¹; 54, three; 347, two; 1,454, one; and 221 hold only 500*l.* stock, and are not qualified to vote but merely to debate on any question; 396 proprietors hold stock under 500*l.* and are not qualified to vote or speak, and 220 have not held their stock a sufficient time to enable them to vote. The stock must be bona fide in the proprietor's possession for twelve months, to enable him or her to vote; a regulation adopted to prevent collusive transfers of stock for particular occasions. The total number of voters is estimated at 2,000, and of the votes about 1,500 are comprised within four miles of the General Post Office. Women as well as men, foreigners as well as Englishmen, if holding stock sufficient, are empowered to vote and debate. A late classification of the votes gave of gentry, bankers, merchants, traders, shipowners, shopkeepers, &c. 1836; of women (married, widows, and spinsters), 43; of officers in the Queen's and East India Company's army, 222; of the clergy, 86; of officers in the royal navy, 28; of medical men, 19; of the nobility, 20. The following is said to be the state of the votes of the Court of Proprietors in 1832:—Peers, 20; members of parliament, 10; directors, 50; clergymen, 86; medical men, 19; military officers,

¹ A proprietor of not less than 1000*l.* has one vote; of 3000*l.* two; of 6000*l.* three; and of 10,000*l.* and upwards, no more than four votes.

222 ; naval ditto, 28 ; minor, 1 ; other gentlemen, 1775 ; male votes, 2211 ; female ditto, 372 ; total, 2583. The proprietors meet as a court regularly every quarter, and especially when convened to discuss particular business. The number of quarterly and special courts held from 1814 to 1830-31 was 212. The powers vested in this Court are, the election of qualified proprietors as their delegates, or representatives, to form a Court of Directors ; to frame bye-laws for the regulation of the Company—provided they do not interfere with acts of parliament ; to control salaries, or pensions, exceeding 200*l.* a year, or gratuities above 600*l.* It may confer pecuniary rewards on any eastern statesman, or warrior, above the latter named sum, subject, however, to the confirmation of the Board of Control ; it can demand copies of public documents to be laid before it for discussion and consideration, but it is prevented interfering with any order of the Court of Directors, after the same shall have received the approval of the Board of Control. The Court of Proprietors did interfere, and with effect, in the case of the maritime compensations, on the ground that their concurrence had not been obtained previously to the application of the Board. The chairman of the Court of Directors is ex-officio chairman of the Court of Proprietors ;—debates are regulated as in the House of Commons,—and all questions and elections are decided by the ballot. Absent proprietors may vote at elections by power of attorney.

The Court of Directors, or Representatives of the foregoing body of Proprietors, consists of twenty-

four persons¹, qualified according to an act of parliament, which provides that each must be a natural born or naturalized subject of Great Britain : possessed of 2000*l.* stock, (no matter for what previous period) he must not be a Director of the Bank of England, or the South Sea Company ; and, by a bye-law of the Company, he shall be liable to be removed if he should promote his own, or the election of any other Director, by promises of reward, collusive transfer of stock, or payment of travelling expenses, or receive any pecuniary or other remuneration whatever, for any appointment in his gift or patronage as a Director. Six Directors retire annually by rotation, and are re-eligible after twelve months absence ; the Proprietors have a review of every Director in the course of four years, and can of course remove if they think fit such as they deem not fit for the duty which they ought to fulfil². The Court of Directors elect from their own body a Chairman and Deputy Chairman annually ; meet once a week ; not less than thirteen form a Court, and all questions are decided by ballot. The Court in general consists of men of various habits, views, and interests ; by a recent analysis there were ten retired civil and law officers of the Company ; four military ditto of ditto ; four maritime ditto of ditto ; three private Indian merchants ; and nine London

¹ There are thirty Directors on the list, but twenty-four form the Court : as six retire every year, and are re-elected after the expiration of a year.

² Nineteen contested elections for Directors took place from 1814 to 1831.

merchants and bankers ; of these fifteen were under ten years standing from the first election ; eleven from ten to twenty ditto ; two from twenty to thirty, and two from thirty upwards. It is gratifying to observe that at all the recent elections, retired civil and military servants of the East India Company have been elected to the direction, and that the influence of London bankers &c., is on the wane. The Court of Directors enjoy full initiatory authority over all matters at home and abroad relating to the political, financial, judicial, and military affairs of the Company. But its proceedings are subject to certain acts of parliament ; to the superintendence of the Board of Control, and in several matters to the approval of the Court of Proprietors.

For the despatch of business the Directors are divided into three committees ; finance and home, eight directors ; political and military, seven ; revenue, judicial, and legislative, seven ; the duty of each is partly defined by the title, but there is a committee of secrecy, forming the cabinet council of the Company, and consisting of the chairman, deputy ditto, and senior director ; its functions are defined by parliament. In reference to the business done by the Court of Directors as compared with the Board of Control, the Select Committee of the House of Commons thus reports in 1832 :—

As to the proportions of general administration resting on the Board of Control, and the East India Company, its courts and its officers respectively, it has been asserted, that, of all the reflections, suggestions and instructions bearing upon the policy

of the Indian Governments, contained in the public despatches, nine-tenths, if not a larger proportion, originate with the India House, though whatever regards the more important transactions with other states, and whatever is done in England, may be said to be mainly done by the Board of Commissioners. Considering the multifarious nature of the Company's relations and transactions, it is to be expected that the correspondence should be voluminous and complicated, comprehending, as it does, not only all that is originated in England, and transmitted to India, but the record of the proceedings and correspondence of all the boards at the several presidencies, with duplicates of the documents relating thereto in India, necessary to put the authorities at home in complete possession of all their acts. The correspondence comes home in despatches, and the explanatory matter in books or volumes. The total number of folio volumes received from 1793 to 1813, 21 years, was 9094; and from 1814 to 1829, a period of 16 years, 12,414.

From the establishment of the board in 1784 to 1814, the number of letters received from the Court by the Board of Commissioners was 1791; the number sent from them to the Court was 1195. From 1814 to 1831, 1967 letters have been written to, and 3642 received from the Board. The number of drafts sent up to the Board from 1793 to 1813, were 3958; from 1814 to 1833, 7962, making an increase of 4004; in addition, there have been references, connected with servants, civil and military, and others, in this country, amounting between the

years 1814 and 1830, to 50,146. Reports made to the Court by its committees, apart from details and researches made in framing such reports, 32,902. From 1813 to the present time, nearly 800 parliamentary orders have been served on the Court, requiring returns of vast extent.

By the new East India charter the Company have agreed to place their commercial rights in abeyance while they hold the political government and patronage of India, which is extended by charter to the 30th April, 1845, and in consideration of assigning over all their commercial assets (upwards of 21,000,000*l.* sterling) for the benefit of the Indian territory, the present dividend of ten and a half per cent. (630,000*l.*) on the Company's capital stock, is secured on the Indian revenue for forty years, at the expiration of which period the capital of 6,000,000*l.* will be paid off at the rate of 100*l.* for every 5*l.* 5*s.* of annuity. As a guarantee fund for the proprietors in case of the surplus Indian revenues being unable in any one year to pay the dividends, and in order to provide for the ultimate liquidation of the principal, the sum of 2,000,000*l.* is to be set apart out of the commercial assets, to be invested in the three and a half per cents, there to accumulate as a security fund until it reaches the sum of 12,000,000*l.*

The business relating to the India government is transacted in England, between the Board of Control and the Court of Directors, as follows¹ :—

All communications of whatever nature, and

¹ Evidence before Parliament in 1832.

whether received from abroad or from parties in this country, come, in the first instance, to the Secretary's Office, at the East India house, and are laid by the chairman before the first court that meets after their receipt. Despatches of importance are generally read to the court at length. The despatches, when read or laid before the court, are considered under reference to the respective committees, and the officers whose duty it is to prepare answers take the directions of the chairs upon points connected with them; the draft is prepared upon an examination of all the documents to which the substance has reference, and submitted to the chairs; it is then brought before the committee, to whose province the subject more particularly relates, to be approved or altered by them, and, on being passed, is laid before the Court of Directors. After it has passed the Court of Directors, the draft goes to the Board of Control, who are empowered to make any alterations, but required to return it within a limited time, and with reasons assigned for the alterations they have made. Previously, however, to the draft being laid before either committee by the chairs, experience has suggested the convenience of submitting it to the President of the Board, in the shape of what is called a previous communication. This is done in communication between the president and the chairs, in which stage alterations, containing the original views of the president, are made. The draft being returned to the chairman, is laid by him, either with or without the alterations, as he may see fit, before the committee. The draft, when approved of by the

committee, is submitted to the Court, and there altered or approved, as the Court may see fit. It is then officially sent to the Board, who make such alterations as they judge expedient, and return it to the Court, with their reasons at large for the same. Against these alterations the Court may make a representation to the Board, who have not unfrequently modified the alterations on such representation ; but if the Board decline to do so, they state the same to the Court, and desire the draft may be framed into a despatch, and sent out to India, agreeably to the terms of the act of parliament. In the event of a refusal, three judges of the Court of Queen's Bench finally decide as to the legality of the Board's order.

By the act of 1784 and of 1833, the Directors are charged with appointing a secret committee, whose province is to forward to India all despatches which, in the opinion of the Board of Control, should be secret, and the subject-matter of which can only be divulged by permission of the Board. The committee consists of three members of the Court of Directors, chosen by the Court generally, viz. the chairman, deputy chair, and most frequently senior member, who take the oath of secrecy, as prescribed by the act. Their officers are also sworn to secrecy ; and no one is employed in transcribing secret despatches without the permission of the Board. The Board are empowered by law to issue, through the secret committee, orders and instructions on all matters relating to war, peace, or negotiations of treaties with the states of India, and the secret committee are bound to transmit such order to India without delay. The

secret committee have no legal power to remonstrate against such orders, provided they have no relation to the subjects above stated. The committee have had communication upon the matter stated in secret despatches, with the Board, and at their suggestions alterations have been made; but they have not the same power with regard to despatches sent down in the secret department that they have with regard to other despatches; they are not empowered to make representations thereon to the Board, whose orders are in fact conclusive on the committee. The signatures of the committee are necessary to ensure obedience to the orders conveyed by them to the Company's servants, with whom the Board of Commissioners have no direct correspondence.

It has been stated that there is another class of subjects not provided for in the act which establishes the secret committee, but which have been necessarily treated through the committee, and upon which its orders have been more punctually obeyed than in other cases, namely, negotiations with European states having settlements in India, and generally all matters connected with war in Europe, which can in any way affect our Indian interests. (Provided for by the Act of 1833, section xxxvi.)

When either war against a native state, or the carrying forward an expedition against any of the eastern islands, has been in contemplation, and the finances of India at these periods exceedingly pressed, or requiring aid from this country, the secret committee, in communication with the Board of Commissioners, have taken upon themselves to provide

the requisite funds, without intimating the same to the Court at the time. Thus despatches relating to subjects purely financial and commercial, such as the transmission of bullion, and the nature and amount of the Company's investments, have gone through the secret committee.

THE BOARD OF CONTROL.—The East India Company's Home Government, thus briefly described, has been controlled by a ministerial authority since 1784, which is termed the 'Board of Commissioners for the affairs of India,' or more generally the *Board of Control*; it consists of such members of the Privy Council as Her Majesty may be pleased to appoint, of whom the two principal secretaries of state and the Chancellor of the Exchequer shall always *ex officio* form three. The president is also nominated by the crown, is usually a cabinet minister, and in all changes of administration retires from office together with the salaried commissioners and secretary. The oath which the commissioners take imposes on them the responsible duty of governing India to the best of their ability and judgment, as much and as completely as if there were no executive court or administrative power. The *controlling* functions of the Board are exercised in revising all despatches prepared by the Court of Directors, and addressed to the governments in India; the *originating*, in requiring the Court to prepare despatches on any named subject, and in altering or revising such despatch as it may deem fit. The Board is divided into six departments, viz. Accounts, Revenue, Judicial, Mili-

tary, Secret and Political, and Foreign and Public; the duties of which are thus defined¹.

1. *The Accountant's Department*.—To examine the accounts of the finances at home and abroad: control the correspondence between the Court of Directors and the Indian Governments, in the departments of finance, and mints, and coinage: also, occasional correspondence in most of the other departments of the Company's affairs requiring calculation, or bearing a financial character.

2. *The Revenue Department*.—Principally revision of despatches proposed to be sent to the several governments of India, reviewing the detail proceedings of those governments, and of all the subordinate revenue authorities, in connexion with the adjustment of the land assessments, the realization of the revenue so assessed, and the general operation of the revenue regulations on the condition of the people, and the improvement of the country. Besides the land revenue, the detailed proceedings of the local authorities in the salt, opium, and custom departments, come under periodical revision.

3. *The Judicial Department*.—Examination of all correspondence between the Court of Directors and the local governments, on subjects connected with the administration of civil and criminal justice and police in the interior of India, such as, the constitution of the various courts, the state of business in them, the conduct and proceedings of the judges, and all proposals and suggestions which from time

¹ Evidence before Parliament in 1832.

to time come under discussion, with the view of applying remedies to acknowledged defects.

The King's Courts at the three presidencies, are not subject to the authority of the Court of Directors, or of the Board of Control ; but, any correspondence which takes place in relation to the appointment or retirement of the judges of those courts, or to their proceedings (including papers sent home for submission to the King in council, recommendations of pardon, &c.), passes through this department.

4. The Military Department.—Attention to any alterations which may be made in the allowances, organization, or numbers of the Indian army at the three presidencies ; to the rules and regulations affecting the different branches of the service ; to the general staff, comprehending the adjutant and quarter-master general's department; the commissariat (both army and ordnance) ; the pay, building, surveying, and clothing departments ; and, in fact, to every branch of Indian administration connected with the Company's army. It also embraces so much of the proceedings, with respect to the Queen's troops, as relate to the charge of their maintenance in India, recruiting them from this country, and the periodical reliefs of regiments.

5. The Secret, Political, and Foreign Department—Examines all communications from or to the local governments, respecting their relations with the native chiefs or states of India, or with foreign Europeans, or Americans. It is divided into the following branches :—

I. The *Secret* department containing the corres-

pondence between the Indian Governments and the secret committee of the Court of Directors. Under the provisions of the act of Parliament, such confidential communications as, in the opinion of the local governments, require secrecy, are addressed by them to the secret committee. Any directions, also, to the local governments, relating to war or negotiation, which, in the judgment of the Board of Control, require secrecy, are signed by the secret committee; and the local governments are bound to obey those directions in the same manner as if they were signed by the whole body of Directors.

II. The *Political* department, comprising all correspondence not addressed to the secret committee, or sent through that committee to the local governments, respecting the native chiefs, or states, with whom those governments are in alliance or communication, or whose affairs are under their political superintendence, or who are in the receipt of pecuniary stipends in lieu of territory.

III. The *Foreign* department, including all correspondence relating to communications between the local governments and the several foreign Europeans who have settlements in India or the Eastern Islands; and embracing, in fact, all the proceedings of the local governments in relation to foreign Europeans or Americans, resorting to India.

The proceeding of the local governments, with respect to their residents and political agents, and to any other officers and their respective establishments, through whom communications with native states and chiefs, or with foreigners, may be main-

tained, are also reported in the several departments in which those officers are respectively employed.

6. *The Public Department.*—The business of this department comprises the examination of all despatches to and from India upon commercial or ecclesiastical subjects, and of those which, being of a miscellaneous character, are distinguished by the general appellation of "Public." The commercial and ecclesiastical despatches, which are considered as forming two branches of correspondence distinct from the "Public," are united with the latter in the same department, only on account of the convenience of that arrangement, with reference to the distribution of business in the establishment of the Board of Control.

The *Public* correspondence comprises all those despatches which do not belong specifically to any of the branches of correspondence hitherto enumerated. They relate to the education of the natives and of the civil servants ; to the appointment of writers and of the civil service generally, and to their allowances ; to the several compassionate funds ; to the grant of licenses to reside in India ; to the press ; to public buildings ; to the Indian navy and the marine department ; to the affairs of Prince of Wales' Island, Singapore, Malacca, and St. Helena ; and to various miscellaneous subjects. Some of these being closely connected with the business of other departments, are reported upon in them, although the whole pass through, and are recorded in, the public department.

The *Ecclesiastical* despatches contain every thing

relating to the appointment of chaplains, archdeacons, and bishops ; to their allowances ; to their conduct ; to the building and repair of churches, or other places used for public worship ; and to all questions respecting the affairs of the churches of England and Scotland in India, or that of Rome, so far as public provision is made for their maintenance.

Any papers treating of ecclesiastical or miscellaneous topics, though they are not despatches to or from India, are likewise recorded and reported upon in this department.

The cost of the Board of Control is about 30,000*l.* a year. The salary of the President of the Board is 3500*l.* per annum ; of each of the paid Commissioners, 1200*l.*¹ ; and of the Secretary 1500*l.* to be raised to 1800*l.* after three years' service. The Charter of 1833 authorizes two secretaries for the Board.

THE FOREIGN GOVERNMENT OF INDIA, is divided into three Presidencies, viz. Bengal, Madras, Bombay, and a Lieutenancy at Agra, or rather at Allahabad ; the chief at each presidency is assisted and partly controlled by a council of two of the Company's senior civil servants, and the Commander-in-Chief of the army. The government of Bengal is termed the Supreme Government, and the head thereof is styled the Governor General of India ; he is necessarily possessed of much local independence, exercising some of the most important rights of sovereignty, such as declaring war, making peace,

¹ I believe there is now no Commissioner, the Board consisting of the President and Secretaries.—R. M. M., Aug. 1837.

framing treaties, to a certain extent forgiving criminals, and enacting laws. The Governor General's Council consists of five counsellors—three to be servants of the Company of ten years' standing, and to be appointed by the directors; the fourth to be appointed by the directors also, subject to the approbation of the King, but not from among the East India Company's servants, and with power to sit and vote in council only at meetings for making laws and regulations. The Commander-in-Chief forms the fifth member, with precedence after the Governor General.

On all questions of state policy, excepting in a judicial capacity, the Governor General is independent of his council; if the council are dissentient, the members record in their minutes the cause, which being submitted to the Governor General and he still remaining of his original opinion, the discussion is adjourned for forty-eight hours, when the Governor General may proceed to execution, first assigning his reasons for dissenting from the council. The whole of the documents relative to the difference are then instantly transmitted to the Court of Directors and Board of Control; and the Court have the power, should they deem fit, of appointing new members of council to succeed the dissentient ones, or of recalling the Governor General.

The Governor General, in virtue of his commission as Captain General¹, may head the military operations in any part of India. He has also the power

¹ This power was first granted to the Marquess Wellesley in 1802. See vol. ii. of his Lordship's despatches.

of suspending the governors of the other presidencies, or of proceeding thither and taking the supreme authority in their councils, in the execution of any of which acts he is subject to the vigilant supervision of the home authorities. The Governors of Madras and Bombay are in a similar manner independent of local control, but for the sake of obtaining unity in foreign transactions, on matters of general and internal policy, or in expending money, they are subject to the authority of the Governor General, who, on proceeding to either of the presidencies, may assemble his council there and sit as president.

Regulations for the good government of the British possessions in India are passed by the Governor General in council; they immediately become effective, but are transmitted home and subject to the revision of the Court of Directors and Board of Control; heretofore ordinances for the good government of the presidency capitals were not valid until publicly exposed for fourteen days, then registered by the Supreme (Queen's) Court; put in force, but subject to a further ordeal at home: by the new charter these checks on the Governor General are removed, and that authority in council can now make laws for the regulation of even her Majesty's supreme courts. Such is the legislative department of the government, the executive is generally exercised by means of Boards, of which in Bengal there are five¹, at Madras three², and at Bombay one. Any of these

¹ 1, Revenue; 2, Customs, salt and opium; 3, Trade; 4, Military; 5, Medical.

² 1, Revenue; 2, Military; 3, Medical.

boards make suggestions or present drafts of regulations in their respective departments to government : the boards also receive from their subordinates suggestions, either for their own information or for transmission to the Governor General in Council ; by this means the local knowledge of the inferior officers is brought under the knowledge of the chief executive, and their talents and industry appreciated : indeed, a leading feature in the duties of the Indian Governments is that of noting down every transaction, whether as individual chiefs of departments or as Boards : thus habits of business are generated, combined with a moral check of supervision, no matter what distance a servant may be from the Presidency, or what period of time may elapse, should an enquiry be necessary. All minutes of the boards' proceedings are laid before the government monthly, and then transmitted home. The objection alleged to this is that it creates delay ; but as correctly observed by the Court of Directors in their letter to the Board of Control, 27th August, 1829, the Government of India may in one word be described as a Government of Checks. The Court thus judiciously remark—‘ Now whatever may be the advantage of checks, it must always be purchased at the expense of delay, and the amount of delay will generally be in proportion to the number and efficiency of checks.’ The correspondence between the Court of Directors and the governments of India is conducted with a comprehensiveness and in a detail quite unexampled ; every, the minutest proceedings of the

local governments including the whole correspondence respecting it which passes between them and their subordinate functionaries, is placed on record, and complete copies of the Indian records are sent annually to England for the use of the home authorities. The despatches from India are indexes to those records, or what a table of contents is to a book, not merely communicating on matters of high interest, or soliciting instructions on important measures in contemplation, but containing summary narratives of all the proceedings of the respective governments, with particular references to the correspondence and consultations thereon, whether in the political, revenue, judicial, military, financial, ecclesiastical or miscellaneous departments. In the ordinary course of Indian administration much must always be left to the discretion of local governments; and unless upon questions of general policy and personal cases, it rarely occurs that instructions from hence can reach India before the time for acting upon them is gone by. This is a necessary consequence of the great distance between the two countries, the rapid succession of events in India, which are seldom long foreseen even by those who are on the spot, and the importance of the ruling authorities there acting with promptitude and decision, and adopting their measures, on their own responsibility, to the varying exigencies of the hour. These circumstances unavoidably regulate, but do not exclude, the controlling authority of the Court of Directors. Without defeating the intentions of Par-

liament, they point out the best and indeed the only mode in which these intentions can be practically fulfilled. Although, with the exceptions above adverted to, a specific line of conduct cannot often be prescribed to the Indian governments, yet it seems to indicate any other rather than a state of irresponsibility, that the proceedings of those governments are reported with fidelity, examined with care, and commented upon with freedom by the home authorities; nor can the judgments passed by the Court be deemed useless whilst, though they have immediate reference to past transactions, they serve ultimately as rules for the future guidance of their servants abroad. The knowledge, on the part of the local governments, that their proceedings will always undergo this revision, operates as a salutary check upon its conduct in India; and the practice of replying to letters from thence, paragraph by paragraph, is a security against habitual remissness or accidental oversight on the part of the Court, or their servants at home. From a perusal of the Indian records, the Court also obtain an insight into the conduct and qualifications of their servants, which enables them to judge of their respective merits, and to make a proper selection of members of council.'

The duties of the British functionaries in India may be gathered from the following detail of the chief stations and offices of the civil servants in Bengal¹. The duties of Territorial Secretary, in one

¹ Evidence before Parliament in 1832.

branch, correspond in a great measure with those of the Chancellor of the Exchequer in this country ; he manages the whole financial business of the government, in concert with the Accountant-general ; but the Secretary is the chief officer of the government in that department ; moreover, he has the management of the territorial revenue, and the revenue derived from salt and opium, and he conducts the correspondence of government with the three Boards of Revenue in the upper, lower, and central provinces respectively.

In relation to the Board of Revenue, he is merely the ministerial officer of the government ; he is not a responsible officer, and has no direct power over the Board of Revenue,

If any increase of charge were proposed by any of the Boards of Revenue, or by any person acting under them, that proposal for increase is submitted to the Territorial Secretary before it is acquiesced in and sanctioned by government—he is the person always addressed. The Boards of Revenue have the power of writing directly to the Governor General in Council ; but that is a mere matter of form, for such letter goes equally through the office of the Territorial Secretary, and is submitted by him to the Governor General in Council.

The Territorial Secretary offers his opinion upon the admissibility of any new charge proposed. He has no right or power to do so, but he is generally called upon to do so. The secretaries are in the habit of giving in papers called memoranda. As

the Governor General or Members of Council lay minutes before the Council Board, so the Secretaries, whenever they have any suggestion to make, submit what are called memoranda.

One of the members of the council is nominally President of the Board of Revenue, he performs no duties.

The duties of the territorial and judicial departments as regard the judicial department, are quite distinct departments. There are two secretaries; the Judicial Secretary is quite independent of the Territorial; he conducts the correspondence of the government with the Sudder Dewanny and Nizamut Adawlut; they are the chief criminal and civil courts.

The police is under his direction, at least all the correspondence of government on the subject of the police is conducted by him. Like the Territorial Secretary, he is not a substantive officer, only a ministerial functionary of the government. He writes always in the name of the government; his letters always begin with words to this effect, 'I am directed by the Governor General in Council to inform you:' and this holds good with regard to all other secretaries.

The business of a Collector in the lower provinces is the receipt of revenue; the conduct of public sales, in the event of any defalcation on the part of any landed proprietor who is responsible for any portion of the revenue.

There being a permanent settlement of the land revenue in those provinces, he has not much to do

directly with the collection of the revenue; but he has a great number of other duties, as the management of wards' estates (minors' estates); for the Board of Revenue is also a Court of Wards¹.

He exercises judicial functions in what are called summary suits, arising from disputes between land-lord and tenant, between zemindar and ryot. That is, in disputes connected with the administration of the revenue. The suits are summary; they *are not conducted with the formality of regular suits*; they are instituted originally in the courts of law, and are referred by the judge to the collector for decision; that is, indirectly in the nature of a reference;—when there is a claim of the zemindar (landlord) on the ryot (tenant) for rent which the ryot disputes or denies, it is referred to the collector.

All the instances in which he exercises judicial power are referred to him by the court, as far as regards the summary suits referred to: but there are also investigations which partake largely of judicial inquiries, which he conducts independently of the courts, as, for instance, where landholders in coparceny have petitioned to have their estates divided, and to become separately responsible to government. Such divisions are called Butwarahs.

The revenue collected remains in the custody of a native treasurer, who gives heavy security, and who is to a great degree independent of the collector. Security is given to the government through the

¹ The admirable classification of the duties of the Indian government offices was first efficiently planned and adopted by the Marquess Wellesley.

collector ; but the Board of Revenue see that it is sufficient, and the collector is also responsible.

JUDICIAL.—The civil law is administered according to the religious code of the party, whether Hindoo or Mahomedan. A commission is now being issued to examine into the variety of the civil laws existing in the various provinces, and to endeavour to codify them into a general system.

The criminal law in India is the Mahomedan code, in which mutilations of the limbs and flagellations to death are not unfrequently ordained ; these are commuted by us for imprisonment, &c., and it will be seen in the chapter on education how crime has been diminished in India.

We may now proceed to examine briefly the mode in which the administration of justice is carried on ; in the Bengal Presidency, for instance, there is first a high court of Appeal, termed the 'Sudder Dewany and Nizamut Adawlut,' or chief Civil and Criminal Court. The functions of this court¹ are cognizance of civil, criminal, and police matters ; the remission or mitigation of punishment when the sentence of the law officers is unduly severe, co-revision previous to the execution of any sentence of death, transportation, or perpetual imprisonment, arbitration where the provincial judges differ from their law officers ; revisions of the proceedings of any of the courts, with power to suspend provincial judges ; it may direct suits for property exceeding 5000*l.* in value,

¹ A court of a similar nature has been established for the Western Provinces, under Lord William Bentinck's enlightened government.

to be originally tried before it ; it may admit second or special appeals from the inferior courts, and its construction of the government regulations is final. The Chief Judge has 6000*l.* a year, and the three Puisne Judges 5000*l.* each.

The second degree of courts are the Provincial Courts of appeal (of which there are six for Bengal) with a chief and Puisne Judge to each. They have no criminal jurisdiction ; try suits exceeding 5000 rupees in value, if the plaintiff desire their decision (he may prefer it before the Zillah Judge, if the value do not exceed 10,000 rupees) ; appeals lie from the Zillah Courts, and are final unless in cases of special appeal.

For the Bengal Presidency there are twenty Commissioners of Circuit who combine revenue with judicial functions. They hold sessions of gaol delivery at least twice in each year at the different Zillah and city stations. The direction and control of the magistrates, revenue officers and police, are vested in them. The salary of each commissioner is 4000*l.* a year.

The City or Zillah courts of Bengal amount to forty-nine ; some have a judge, magistrate, and registrar ; in others less extensive, the duties of judge and magistrate are conjoined, or the duties of magistrate and registrar. The population and extent of a Zillah are various ; in Bengal the average population is about 2,000,000. The total salaries of the European covenanted servants of a Zillah court range from 30,000 to 44,000 S. R. a year.

These courts have cognizance of affrays, thefts,

burglaries, &c., when not of an aggravated character, and power to the extent of two years' imprisonment; commit persons charged with heinous offences for trial before the commissioners of circuit; try original suits to the value of 20,000 rupees; decide appeals from registrars (*i. e.* causes not exceeding 500 rupees in value), Sudder Aumeens (native judges), and Moonsiffs; and by a regulation of 1832 (for the expedition of criminal justice), three Zillah judges may be invested with power by the Governor General to hold sessions and gaol delivery.

These courts have authority over the police, and the judges are enjoined to visit the gaols at least once a week.

Another and extensive set of Zillah and city courts have been established last year with native judges of every class, caste, or persuasion, found qualified for the duties enjoined them, to whom liberal salaries have been granted; and by a more recent regulation, native assessors sit on the bench with the European judges.

There are in the Company's Courts three grades of European judges, the district, the provincial, and the judges of the Sudder Court (there are also magistrates, who exercise civil jurisdiction under special appointments, and the registrars try and decide causes referred to them by the judge of the district). The native judges are divided into two classes: first, Moonsiffs, of whom there are several stationed in the interior of every district; and secondly, Sudder Aumeens, established at the same station with the European judge. Native judges of any sect can try

causes as far as 1000 rupees, and the amount may be increased at the recommendation of the European judge to 5000 rupees; this permission has been granted in very many cases, and the decisions have been extremely satisfactory. An appeal lies from the district native judges to the district European judge, from the latter to the high court of Sudder Adawlut at Calcutta, Madras, or Bombay, and from thence to the Queen in council in England.

A plan of judicature, similar to the foregoing, is in force at Madras and Bombay, modified by local usages; in some parts there are Punchayets (native juries) of arbitration and of civil and criminal procedure; in others, native assessors in civil and criminal matters.

In the administration of civil justice the objects of the Company's government have been to render it pure in source, speedy in execution, and cheap in practice; in the administration of criminal justice the aim has been first to prevent crime, and secondly to promote the reformation of the offender. The judges are well paid, in order to secure the purity of justice; the courts are numerous, in order that it may be speedily rendered; and the authorized fees are light (particularly in trifling cases) for the cheap attainment of right. In criminal matters, offences are quickly punished,—the death sentences, (which are inflicted but for very few crimes) are almost sure to be carried into effect, and it is in evidence before parliament (in 1832) that prisoners are brought to trial without delay, that the punishments awarded are mild and well proportioned to the offence; that

abundant care is taken against unjust convictions, and that extraordinary care is paid to the health and comfort of the prisoners in the gaols ; the effect of the system is the extraordinary diminution of crime as will be seen in the Education Chapter of the preceding volume. Measures have been taken for the promulgation of a knowledge of the old as well as new laws.

Laws and Regulations.—In pursuance of the direction, and by virtue of the powers given by the 47th section of the Act of the 3rd and 4th William IV. chapter 85, the Court of Directors of the East India Company, with the approbation of the Commissioners for the Affairs of India, ordain as follow :—

1. Copies of all laws and regulations shall be communicated to the several functionaries appointed to carry them into effect, and shall be preserved in all courts of justice, and there be open to the inspection of all persons.
2. All laws and regulations shall be translated into the several native languages most commonly spoken, and printed and sold at a low price.
3. The governments of the several Presidencies will make such a distribution of copies of the laws and regulations so to be sold as may bring them most conveniently within the reach of all persons, and will notify in a public manner where such copies may be procured.
4. The governments will likewise, on the passing of any law and regulation, publish the title of it, and an abstract of its contents in the gazettes and such other newspapers as are most generally circulated.

Authentification of Laws and Regulations.—1. The original copies of all laws and regulations shall be signed by the members of the Legislative Council by whom they shall be passed, and such copy shall be preserved in the archives of the Government of India.

2. Such copies only of the several laws and regulations hereafter passed as shall be printed at the government press shall be admitted as evidence in courts of justice.

Such copies so printed shall bear in the title page fac-similes of the signatures of the members of council by whom the several laws and regulations may have been respectively passed.

There is a Supreme, or Queen's Court at each Presidency, with a chief and two puisne judges ; a master in equity, registrar, an established number of attorneys, and barristers, at the discretion of the judges, and at Calcutta there is a Hindoo and a Mahomedan law officer attached to the court. The jurisdiction of this court extends over the local boundaries of the Presidency, with certain exceptions not well defined, and the courts claim jurisdiction in certain cases beyond the Presidency ; such claims have, however, been viewed with alarm, and the extension of the jurisdiction of the Queen's Court at the present period deprecated. The salaries and contingent expenses of the Supreme Court at Calcutta annually, are 879,000 rupees, and the emoluments of barristers and attorneys about 771,000 rupees. The same items at Madras and Bombay are—for the first, 650,000 rupees, and for the second, 950,000 rupees : total of

Supreme Courts, 3,250,000 rupees. The salaries of the Supreme Court Judges at the three Presidencies are, Bengal, Chief, 8000*l.*; Puisne, 6000*l.*; Madras, Chief, 60,000 rupees; Puisne, 50,000 rupees. Bombay, ditto, ditto. Since 1807, there have been six Chief Justices at Bengal, and since 1805, seven Puisne. At Madras since 1815, four Chief, and since 1809, ten Puisne; at Bombay since 1823, three Chief and five Puisne Judges. The fixed charges were, in 1829, as follow: Bengal, secca rupees, 383,120; Madras, 378,056; Bombay, 293,874; total, secca rupees, 955,050, being an excess over 1823 of secca rupees, 205,826. Trial by jury in criminal matters, not in civil; natives are eligible as petty and grand jurors; proceedings are in English, with the aid of interpreters, and in general the civil laws of England are applied. There are at Calcutta and Bombay Courts of Requests, for the recovery of small debts, the recorders of which are Europeans.

THE POLICE, in Bengal for instance, are divided into stations with a native officer, native registrar, petty officer, and from twenty to thirty policemen well armed. In each district there are from fifteen to twenty stations, making altogether in Lower Bengal about 500, and in the upper or western provinces 400. Every village has also its own watchman, armed and paid by the village, and as there are 163,673 villages in lower Bengal, there is a further force of 160,000 men added to the government establishment. In some provinces of central India, each village has also a petty officer, whose duty it is to track thieves, and when he traces them to a village,

to hand over the search to the trackers of that village.

The head officer at each station receives criminal charges, holds inquests, forwards accused persons with their prosecutors and witnesses to the Zillah magistrate, uses every exertion for the apprehension of criminals and the preservation of the peace in his district, and regularly reports all proceedings to the European magistrate from whom he receives orders. The village police, together with the village corporation officers (such as the barber, schoolmaster, accountant, waterman, measurer, &c.), land agents, zemindars, &c. are all required to give immediate information of crime committed within their limits and to aid in the apprehension of offenders. There is a mounted police officered by natives, and a river police conducted also by natives.

The police officers are furnished with precise and brief manuals of instructions, and the abuses which prevailed are being rapidly removed; what was good in the native laws has been retained, and what was evil obliterated, and an excellent system still open to improvement has been the result. The general system of police in India, and its gradations of ranks is thus detailed in the recent evidence before Parliament. 'The lowest police officer is the village watcher. There are several in a village who perform the lower offices. They are under the control of the head of the village; the head of the village is under the control of the Tehsildar, who is a native collector of revenue; the Tehsildar is under the magistrate, who is the collector. The village watchers are remuner-

ated by a small quantity of grain from the produce of the village, and from certain fees from the inhabitants ; and the head of the village has also similar allowances, to a greater extent. The Tehsildar is a stipendary officer of the government, employed in the collection of the revenue. There are police officers appointed to towns, called Aumeems of police, who have a jurisdiction also beyond those towns ; and there are officers called Cutwals, a kind of high constables, resident chiefly in market towns. There are, in some districts, paid police ; and there were formerly various classes of native peons, under different denominations, many of whom have of late years been dismissed as unnecessary.'

The strength of the civil service at each presidency, according to the Bengal Finance Committee, is as follows :—

	Bengal.	Madras.	Bombay.	Total.
Senior Merchants*	272	133	56	461
Junior, ditto	25	11	26	62
Factors	41	16	30	87
Writers	177	34	36	247
 Total...	515	194	148	857
 Number of Annuitants retiring Annually	9	4	3	16
Casualties at Two and a half per Cent ...	10	4	2	16
 Annually Required	19	8	5	32

* The terms here given have been continued ever since the East India Company was a mere trading company, new designations are necessary.

See large edition of this work for a specification of the recent revision of allowances for the civil functionaries of Bengal.

The foregoing details will enable the general reader to form an accurate idea of the nature of the Anglo Indian government.

CHAPTER II.

MILITARY ESTABLISHMENTS OF BENGAL, MADRAS AND BOMBAY—RISE AND PROGRESS, AND CHARACTER OF THE INDIAN ARMY;—THE MARINE, MEDICAL AND ECCLESIASTICAL ESTABLISHMENTS—THE PATRONAGE OF INDIA—ITS DISTRIBUTION, &c. &c.

THE Anglo Indian army, amounting to nearly 200,000 men, well deserves examination, whether in reference to numbers, discipline, gallantry in the field, fidelity to its government, or political importance :—

RISE, PROGRESS, AND CHARACTER OF THE NATIVE ARMY OF INDIA¹.—Though Bombay was the first possession which the English obtained in the East, the establishment on that island was, for a very long period, on too limited a scale to obtain more than its European garrison, and a few companies of disciplined sepoys. On the coast of Coromandel, which became towards the middle of the last century a scene of warfare between the English and French, who mutually aided and received support from the princes of that quarter, the natives of India were instructed in European discipline. During the siege of Madras, which took place in A.D. 1746, a number of peons, a species of irregular infantry, armed with swords and

¹ Abstract of the late Sir John Malcolm's description as laid before Parliament.

spears, or matchlocks, were enlisted for the occasion ; to those some English officers were attached, among whom a young gentleman of the civil service, of the name of Haliburton, was the most distinguished. This gentleman, who had been rewarded with the commission of a lieutenant, was employed in the ensuing year in training a small corps of natives in the European manner ; he did not, however, live to perfect that system, which he appears to have introduced into the Madras service¹.

It appears from other authorities, that the first sepoys who were raised by the English were either Mahomedans or Hindoos of very high caste, being chiefly Rajpoots. One of the first services on which the regular sepoys of Madras were employed was the defence of Arcot, A.D. 1751. The particulars of that siege, which forms a remarkable feature in the life of the celebrated Clive, have been given by an eloquent and faithful historian² ; but he has not informed us of one occurrence that took place, and which, as it illustrates the character of the Indian soldiers, well merited to be preserved. When provisions were very low, the Hindoo sepoys entreated their commander to allow them to boil the rice (the only food left) for the whole garrison. ‘Your English soldiers,’ they said, ‘can eat from our hands, though we cannot from theirs ; we

¹ ‘It was by one of our own sepoys’ (the Council of Fort St. David observe, in a despatch dated 2nd September, 1748, in which they pass an eulogium on the character of Mr. Haliburton) ‘that he had the misfortune to be killed, who shot him upon his reprimanding him for some offence ; the poor gentleman’ (they add) ‘died next day, and the villain did not live so long, for his comrades that stood by cut him to pieces immediately.’ The name of Mr. Haliburton was long cherished by the Madras native troops, and about twenty years ago, on an examination of old grants, some veterans, wearing medals, appeared as claimants, who called themselves Haliburton Saheb Ka sepoy, or Haliburton’s soldiers.

² Orme.

will allot as their share every grain of the rice, and subsist ourselves by drinking the water in which it has been boiled.' I state this remarkable anecdote from an authority I cannot doubt, as it refers to the most unexceptionable contemporary witnesses.

During all the wars of Clive, of Lawrence, of Smith, and of Coote, the sepoys of Madras continued to display the same valour and attachment. In the years 1780, 1781, and 1782, they suffered hardships of a nature almost unparalleled; there was hardly a corps that was not twenty months in arrears; they were supported, it is true, by a daily allowance of rice, but this was not enough to save many of their families from being the victims of that dreadful famine which during these years wasted the Company's dominions in India. Their fidelity never gave way in this hour of extreme trial, and they repaid with gratitude and attachment the kindness and consideration with which they were treated by their European officers, who, being few in number, but, generally speaking, very efficient, tried every means that could conciliate the regard, excite the pride, or stimulate the valour of those they commanded.

In the campaigns of 1790 and 1791 against Tippoo Sultaun, the sepoyes of this establishment showed their usual zeal and courage; but the number of European troops which were now intermixed with them, lessened their opportunities of distinguishing themselves, and though improved in discipline, they perhaps fell in their own estimation. The native army in some degree became a secondary one, and the pride of those of whom it was composed was lowered. The campaigns of Lord Cornwallis and General Meadows were certainly not inferior, either in their operations or results, to those of Sir Eyre Coote; but every officer can tell how differently they are regarded by the sepoyes who served in both; the latter may bring to their memory the distresses and hardships which they suffered, and perhaps the recollection of children who perished from famine, but it is associated with a sense of their own importance at that period to the government they served, with the pride of fidelity and patient valour. The pictures of these three distinguished leaders are in the great room of the

Exchange at Madras ; to that (I speak of ten years ago) when a battalion comes into garrison the old sepoys lead their families. Wallis and Meadows (these are the names by which the two first commanders are known to them) are pointed out as great and brave chiefs ; but it is to the image of their favourite, Coote, the pilgrimage is made, and the youngest of their children are taught to pay a respect bordering on devotion to this revered leader.

In the year 1796, new regulations were introduced into the Indian army, the whole form of which was in fact changed. Instead of single battalions of a thousand men, commanded by a captain, who was selected from the European corps in the Honourable Company's service, and a subaltern to each company, they were formed into regiments of two battalions, to which officers were appointed of the same rank, and nearly of the same number, as to a battalion in the service of Her Majesty.

The general history of the native army of Fort St. George is short. Sepoys were first disciplined, as has been stated, on that establishment in 1748 ; they were at that period, and for some time afterwards, in independent companies, under sub-adars or native captains. Mahomed Esof, one of the most distinguished of those officers, rose by his talents and courage to the general command of the whole ; and the name of this hero, for such he was, occurs almost as often in the page of the English historian¹ of India as that of Lawrence and Clive. As the numbers of the native army increased, the form changed. In A.D. 1766, we find ten battalions of 1000 men each, and three European officers to each corps. In 1770, there were eighteen battalions of a similar strength ; and in 1784 the number of this army had increased to 2000 native cavalry and 28,000 infantry ; a considerable reduction was made at this period, but subsequent wars and conquests have caused a great increase.

A few remarks on the appearance and conduct of this army,

¹ Orme.

with some anecdotes of remarkable individuals, will fully illustrate its character, and convey a just idea of the elements of which it is composed.

The native cavalry of Madras was originally raised by the Nabob of the Carnatic. The first corps embodied into a regiment under the command of European officers, on the suggestion of General Joseph Smith, served in the campaign of 1768 in the Mysore. From 1771 to 1776, the cavalry force was greatly augmented, but then again declined both in numbers and efficiency. The proportion that was retained nominally in the service of the Nabob, but actually in that of the Company, served in the campaigns of 1780, 1781, 1782, and 1783, and was formally transferred, with the European officers attached to it, to the Company's service in 1784. The prospect of fortune which the liberality of an Indian prince offered, attracted to this corps many active and enterprising European officers, and the favour which a Native Court extended to its choicest troops filled the ranks of its regiments of regular cavalry with the prime of the Mahomedan youth¹ of the Carnatic. When this corps was in the service of the Nabob of the Carnatic, though it was often very highly distinguished, the intrigues of a venal court and irregular payments caused frequent mutinies. Since it has been transferred to the Company's establishment, a period of more than thirty years, its career has been one of faithful service and of brilliant achievement, unstained by any example, that I can recollect, of disaffection or of defeat. The two severest trials of the courage and discipline

¹ There cannot be men more suited from their frame and disposition, for the duty of light cavalry than those of which this corps is composed. They are, generally speaking, from five feet five to five feet ten inches in height, of light but active make. Their strength is preserved and improved by moderation in their diet, and by exercise common to the military tribes, and which are calculated to increase the muscular force.

of this corps were at Assaye and Vellore ; in both these services they were associated with the 19th Dragoons.

The distinguished commander¹ of that gallant regiment had, from the day of its arrival in India, laboured to establish the ties of mutual and cordial regard between the European and native soldiers. His success was complete. His own fame while he remained in India was promoted by their combined efforts, and the friendship which he established, and which had continued for many years, was after his departure consummated upon the plains of Assaye. At the most critical moment of a battle which ranks amongst the hardest fought that have been gained by the illustrious Wellington, the British dragoons, when making their extremest efforts, saw their Asiatic fellow soldiers keep pace for pace, and give blow for blow. A more arduous task awaited the latter, when the battalions of native infantry, which formed the garrison of Vellore, were led by the infatuation of the moment to rise upon and murder the Europeans of that garrison. The fidelity of the native cavalry did not shrink from the severe trial, and after the gates of the fortress were blown open, their sabres were as deeply² stained as those of the English dragoons with the blood of their misguided and guilty countrymen.

But a few authentic anecdotes of some of the most distinguished individuals of the native cavalry of Madras, will show, better than volumes, the high spirit that pervades that corps.

In the campaign of 1791, when Secunder Beg, one of the oldest subadars of the native cavalry, was riding at a little distance on the flank of his troop, two or three horsemen of Tippoo's army, favoured by some brushwood, came suddenly upon him ; the combat had hardly commenced when the son of the subadar, who was a havildar or serjeant in the same

¹ The late General Sir John Floyd, Bart., father-in-law of Sir R. Peel.

² This fact is stated upon the high authority of a respectable officer who belonged to the 19th Dragoons, and was with them on this memorable occasion.

regiment, flew to his father's aid and slew the foremost of his opponents; the others fled; but nothing could exceed the rage of the old man at his son's conduct; he put him instantly under a guard, and insisted upon his being brought to condign punishment for quitting his ranks without leave. It was with the greatest difficulty that Colonel Floyd, who commanded the force, could reconcile him to the disgrace he conceived he had suffered (to use his own expression) from his enemy 'being taken from him by a presumptuous boy in front of his regiment.'

Cawder Beg, late subadar of the fourth regiment, may be deemed throughout his life as one of the most distinguished officers of the native cavalry at Madras. In 1790, he was attached to Colonel Floyd as an orderly subadar, when that officer, who had been reconnoitering with a small detachment, was attacked by considerable body of the enemy's horse. Nothing but the greatest exertions of every individual could have saved the party from being cut off. Those of Cawder Beg were the most conspicuous, and they received a reward, of which he was proud to the last hour of his life: an English sabre was sent to him, with the name of Colonel Floyd upon it, and an inscription, stating that it was the reward of valour. But personal courage was the least quality of Cawder Beg: his talents eminently fitted him for the exercise of military command. During the campaign of 1799, it was essential to prevent the enemy's looties (a species of Cossack horse), from penetrating between the columns and the rear guard, and plundering any part of that immense train of provisions and luggage, which it was necessary to carry to Seringapatam. Cawder Beg, with two or three of his relations from the native cavalry and a select body of infantry, were placed under my orders. I was then political representative with the army of the subah of the Deckan, and commanded a considerable body of the troops of that prince. I had applied for Cawder Beg on account of his reputation, and prevailed upon Meer Allum, the leader of the subah's forces, to place a corps of 2000 men of his best regular horse under the subadar's orders. Two days after the corps was formed, an orderly trooper came to

tell me that Cawder Beg was engaged with some of the enemy's horsemen. I hastened to the spot with some alarm for the result, determined if Cawder Beg was victor, to reprove him most severely for a conduct so unsuited to the station in which he had been placed. The fears I entertained for his safety were soon dispelled, as I saw him advancing on foot with two swords in his hand, which he hastened to present to me, begging at the same time I would restrain my indignation at his apparent rashness till I heard his reasons; then speaking to me aside, he said 'Though the General of the Nizam's army was convinced by your statement of my competence to the command you have entrusted me with, I observed that the high-born and high-titled leaders of the horse he placed under my orders, looked at my close jacket¹, straight pantaloons, and European boots with contempt, and thought themselves disgraced by being told to obey me. I was, therefore, tempted, on seeing a well-mounted horseman of Tippoo's challenge their whole line, to accept a combat, which they declined. I promised not to use fire arms, and succeeded in cutting him down; a relation came to avenge his death; I wounded him, and have brought him prisoner. You will' (he added, smiling), 'hear a good report of me at the durbar (Court) of Meer Allum this evening, and the service will go on better for what has passed, and I promise most sacredly to fight no more single combats.'

When I went in the evening to visit the Meer Allum, I found at his tent a number of the principal chiefs, and among others those that had been with Cawder Beg, with whose praises I was assailed from every quarter. 'He was,' they said, 'a perfect hero, a Rustum²; it was an honour to be commanded by so great a leader.' The consequence was, as the subadar had anticipated, that the different chiefs who were

¹ The native troops in the English service wear a uniform very like that of Europeans.

² The Persian Hercules.

placed under him vied in respect and obedience ; and so well were the incessant efforts of this body directed, that scarcely a load of grain was lost; hardly a day passed that the activity and stratagem of Cawder Beg did not delude some of the enemy's plunderers to their destruction.

It would fill a volume to give a minute account of the actions of this gallant officer ; he was the native aide-de-camp of General Dugald Campbell, when that officer reduced the ceded districts¹; he attended Sir Arthur Wellesley (the present Duke of Wellington) in the campaign of 1803, and was employed by that officer in the most confidential manner. At the end of this campaign, during which he had several opportunities of distinguishing himself, Cawder Beg, who had received a pension from the English Government, and whose pride was flattered by being created an omrah² of the Deckan by the Nizam, retired ; but he did not long enjoy the distinction he had obtained : he died in 1806, worn out with the excessive fatigue to which he had for many years exposed himself.

The body guard of the Governor of Madras has always been a very select corps, and the notice and attention with which both the native officers and men of the corps have invariably been treated, may be adduced as one of the causes which have led to its obtaining distinction in every service on which it has been employed.

On the 13th of May, 1791, Lord Cornwallis returned his thanks in the warmest manner to this corps and its gallant commanding officer, Captain Alexander Grant, for a charge upon the enemy. It obtained still further distinction under Captain James Grant, the brother of its former commander,

¹ These districts, which were ceded to the English Government by the treaty of Seringapatam in 1799, lie between Mysore Proper and the territories of the Subah of the Deckan.

² He received the title of Cawder Nuaz Khan, or Cawder the favoured Lord.

when employed, in the year 1801, against the Poligars, a race of warlike men who inhabit the southern part of the Madras territory. There are indeed few examples of a more desperate and successful charge than was made, during that service, by this small corps upon a phalanx of resolute pikemen, more than double its own numbers; and the behaviour of Shaik Ibrahim, the senior subadar (a native captain), on that occasion, merits to be commemorated.

This officer, who was alike remarkable for his gallantry, and unrivalled skill as a horseman, anticipated, from his experience of the enemy, all that would happen. He told Captain Grant what he thought would be the fate of those who led the charge at the same moment that he urged it, and heard with animated delight, the resolution of his commander to attempt an exploit which was to reflect such glory on the corps. The leaders of the body guard and almost one-third of its number fell, as was expected; but the shock broke the order of their opponents, and they obtained a complete victory. Shaikh Ibrahim was pierced with several pikes, one was in the throat; he held his hand to this, as if eager to keep life till he asked the fate of Captain Grant. The man of whom he inquired pointed to that officer, who was lying on the ground and apparently dead, with a pike through his lungs; the subadar, with an expression of regret that he had disdained to show for his own fate, pulled the pike from the wound, and instantly expired. His character and his behaviour in the last moment of existence are fully described in the following general order, which was issued on this occasion by the Government of Fort St. George :—

' A rare combination of talents has rendered the character of Shaikh Ibrahim familiar to the officers of the army; to cool decision and daring valour, he added that sober judgment, and those honourable sentiments that raised him far above the level of his rank in life. An exploit of uncommon energy and personal exertion terminated his career, and the last effort of his voice breathed honour, attachment, and fidelity.

' The Governor in Council, desirous of showing to the army

his Lordship's¹ sense of the virtue and attainments which have rendered the death of this native officer a severe loss to the service, has been pleased to confer on his family a pension equal to the pay of a subadar of the body guard, being thirty pagodas a month. And his Lordship has further directed that a certificate to this effect, translated into Persian and Hindooostanee, may be presented to the family, as a record of the gift, and a tribute to the memory of the brave subadar Shaikh Ibrahim.'

The posthumous praise given to Shaikh Ibrahim appeared to have inspired others with a desire to share his fate, that they might attain his fame. A jemadar of the same corps, some days afterwards, being appointed with a few select men to watch a road, where it was thought the chief whom they were attacking might try to escape, with one or two followers, determined, when a whole column came out, to make an attempt against its leader, and such was the surprise at seeing five or six horsemen ride into a body of between 200 or 300 men, that he had cut down the chief before they had recovered from their astonishment; he succeeded in riding out of the column, but was soon afterwards shot. He had, when he meditated this attack, sent a person to inform Captain J. Grant (who had recovered of his wounds) of his intention. 'The captain will discover,' he observed, 'that there are more Shaikh Ibrahims than one in the body guard.' Captain Grant, when the service was over, erected tombs over these gallant officers; a constant lamp is kept at them, which is supported by a trifling monthly donation from every man in the body guard, and the noble spirit of the corps is perpetuated by the contemplation

¹ The Marquess Wellesley was at this period Governor General of India; and it is the testimony of all contemporary authorities (a similar remark applies to Earl Powis, then Lord Clive and Governor of Madras), that virtue, talent, or valour, either in European or native, were certain, under his administration, of attaining distinction and reward.

of these regimental shrines (for such they may be termed) of heroic valour.

Shaikh Moheedeen, a subadar of the body guard of Madras, who was one of the first officers appointed to the corps of native horse artillery, accompanied me to Persia, and was left with a detachment of his corps, under the command of Captain Lindsay, to aid in instructing the Persians in military tactics. This small body of men and their gallant European commander were engaged in several campaigns in Georgia, and his conduct has obtained not only for the subadar, but for all the men of his party, marked honours and reward, both from the Persian Government and their own. Their exertions received additional importance from the scene on which they acted, for it is not easy to calculate the future benefits which may result from the display of the superior courage and discipline of the native soldiers of India on the banks of the Araxes.

The native infantry of Madras is generally composed of Mahomedans and Hindoos of good caste : at its first establishment none were enlisted but men of high military tribes. In the progress of time a considerable change took place, and natives of every description were enrolled in the service. Though some corps that were almost entirely formed of the lowest and most despised races of men obtained considerable reputation, it was feared their encouragement might produce disgust, and particularly when they gained, as they frequently did, the rank of officers. Orders were in consequence given to recruit from none but the most respectable classes of society, and many consider the regular and orderly behaviour of these men as one of the benefits which have resulted from this system.

The infantry sepoy of Madras is rather a small man, but he is of an active make, and capable of undergoing great fatigue, upon a very slender diet. We find no man arrive at greater precision in all his military exercises ; his moderation, his sobriety, his patience, give him a steadiness that is almost unknown to Europeans ; but though there exists in this body of men a fitness to attain mechanical perfection as soldiers, there are no men whose minds it is of more consequence to study.

The most marked general feature of the character of the native of India is a proneness to obedience, accompanied by a great susceptibility of good or bad usage ; and there are few in that country who are more imbued with these feelings than the class of which we are now treating. The sepoys of Madras, when kindly treated, have invariably shown great attachment¹ to the service ; and when we know that this class of men can be brought, without harshness or punishment, to the highest discipline, we neither can nor ought to have any toleration for those who pursue a different system ; and the commander-in-chief is unfit for his station who grants his applause to the mere martinet, and forgets in his intemperate zeal, that no perfection in appearance and discipline can make amends for the loss of the temper and attachment of the native soldiers under his command.

We discover in the pages of Orme many examples of that patient endurance of privations and fatigue, and that steady valour, which has since characterized the native infantry of Madras. Their conduct in the war against Hyder Ally in 1766, was such as justly to entitle them to admiration. In the battle of Trincomalee and Molwaggle they displayed all the qualifications of good and steady soldiers ; and it was during this war that the 5th battalion of native infantry, commanded by Captain Calvert, distinguished itself by the defence of Ambore, and obtained the honour of bearing a representation of that mountain fortress on one of its standards. To the campaigns of Sir Eyre Coote we have already alluded, and have spoken of the unshaken fidelity which the sepoyes of Madras

¹ In old corps, that have been chiefly recruited within the territories which have been long in the possession of the Company, desertion is of very rare occurrence.

The first battalion of the 3rd native infantry marched, in 1803, from near Madura (of which district, and Trichinopoly, a great proportion of its men were natives), to the banks of the Taptee, a distance of above 1000 miles, without one desertion !

evinced at that trying juncture ; but if a moment was to be named when the existence of the British power depended upon its native troops, we should fix upon the battle of Portonovo. Driven to the seashore, attacked by an enemy exulting in recent success, confident in its numbers, and strong in the terror of his name, every circumstance combined that could dishearten the small body of men on whom the fate of the war depended; not a heart shrunk from the trial. Of the European troops it is of course superfluous to speak ; but all the native battalions appear, from every account of the action, to have been entitled to equal praise on this memorable occasion ; and it is difficult to say whether they were most distinguished when suffering with a patient courage, under a heavy cannonade, when receiving and repulsing the shock of the flower of Hyder's cavalry, or when attacking in their turn the troops of that monarch, who, baffled in all his efforts, retreated from this field of anticipated conquest with the loss of his most celebrated commander and thousands of his bravest soldiers. The defeat of Colonel Baillie's detachment, which occurred at the commencement of this war, has been variously attributed to bad arrangements in the general plans of the campaign, to mismanagement on the part of the commanding officer, and to the misconduct of the native troops. It is probable all these causes combined to produce this great misfortune ; but we must recollect that the native battalions that were chiefly accused of bad behaviour on this occasion were raw levies, who had never before seen service, and most of whom had hardly been in the army a sufficient time to be disciplined. The men composing these corps had been hastily raised in the Circars, or northern possessions of Madras, and their conduct created a prejudice (which experience has since proved to be unjust) against recruits from this quarter.

I shall not dwell upon the different actions in the war against Tippoo and the Mahrattas, in which the Madras sepoys signified themselves, but merely state some anecdotes of corps and individuals which appear calculated to give a fair impression of the general character of this class of the defenders of our empire in India.

The natives of India have, generally speaking, a rooted dislike to the sea ; and when we consider the great privations and hardships to which Hindoos of high caste are subject on a long voyage, during which some of them, from prejudices of caste, subsist solely on parched grain, we feel less surprise at the occasional mutinies which have been caused by orders for their embarkation than at the zeal and attachment they have often shown upon such trying occasions.

A mutiny had occurred in the 9th battalion when ordered to embark for Bombay, in 1779 or 1780, which however had been quelled by the spirit and decision of its commandant, Captain Kelly. A more serious result had accompanied a similar order for the embarkation of some companies of a corps in the Northern Circars, who, when they came to Vizagapatam, the port where they were to take shipping, had risen upon their European officers, and in their violence shot all except one or two, who escaped on board the vessel appointed to carry their men.

These events rendered government averse to a repetition of experiments which had proved so dangerous ; but in the year 1795, when the island of Ceylon, and the possessions of the Dutch in the eastern seas were to be reduced, Lord Hobart, who was then Governor of Fort St. George, made a successful appeal to the zeal and attachment of the native troops, who volunteered in corps for foreign service. His Lordship (afterwards Earl of Buckinghamshire), was very successful in inspiring zeal in every branch of the government under his charge, and his attention was peculiarly directed to the conciliation of the natives. The local information he acquired at this period was subsequently matured by a study of the general interests of the Indian empire ; and the life of this virtuous nobleman terminated at a moment when his services, from the high station he had attained of President of the Board of Control, were most valuable to his country.

A still greater call for men was necessary when an army was formed, in 1797, for the attack of Manilla, and many of the best battalions in the service showed a forwardness to be employed in this expedition. Among these, one of the most

remarkable for its appearance and discipline was a battalion of the 22d regiment. This fine corps was commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel James Oram, an officer not more distinguished for his personal zeal and gallantry, than for a thorough knowledge of the men under his command, whose temper he had completely preserved, at the same time that he had imparted to them the highest perfection in their dress and discipline. When he proposed to his corps on parade, to volunteer for Manilla, they only requested to know whether Colonel Oram would go with them: the answer was, 'he would.' 'Will he stay with us?' was the second question. The reply was in the affirmative; the whole corps exclaimed 'to Europe, to Europe!' and the alacrity and spirit with which they subsequently embarked showed they would as readily have gone to the shores of the Atlantic as to an island of the Eastern Ocean. Not a man of the corps deserted from the period they volunteered for service till they embarked; and such was the contagion of their enthusiasm, that several sepoys who were missing from one of the battalions in garrison at Madras were found, when the expedition returned, to have deserted to join the 22d under Colonel Oram. This anecdote is stated with a full impression of the importance of the lesson it conveys. It is through their affections alone that such a class of men can be well commanded.

I find in the Madras native army many instances of unconquerable attachment to the service to which they belong. Among these none can be more remarkable than that of Syud Ibrahim, commandant of the Tanjore cavalry, who was made prisoner by Tippoo Sultan in 1781. The character of this distinguished officer was well known to his enemy, and the highest rank and station were offered to tempt him to enter into the employment of the state of Mysore. His steady refusal occasioned his being treated with such rigour, and was attended, as his fellow-prisoners (who were British officers) thought, with such danger to his life, that they, from a generous feeling, contemplating his condition as a Mahomedan and a native of India as in some essential points different from their own, recommended him to accept the offers of the Sultan; but the

firm allegiance of Syud Ibrahim would admit of no compromise, and he treated every overture as an insult. His virtuous resolution provoked at last the personal resentment of Tippoo, and when the English prisoners were released in 1784, the commandant was removed to a dungeon in the mountain fortress of Couley Droog, where he terminated his existence. His sister, who had left her home, the Carnatic, to share the captivity of her brother, was subsequently wounded in the storming of Seringapatam. She, however, fortunately recovered, and the Government of Fort St. George granted her a pension of 52 pagodas and a half per month, or 250*l.* per annum, being the full pay of a native commandant of cavalry. A tomb was also erected at the place where Syud Ibrahim died ; and Government endowed it with an establishment sufficient to maintain a fakeer or priest, and to keep two lamps continually burning at the shrine of this faithful soldier.

Among the many instances of the effect which pride in themselves, and the notice of their superiors, inspire in this class of troops, I may state the conduct of the first battalion of the eighth regiment of infantry, which became, at the commencement of his career in India, a favourite corps of the Duke of Wellington. They were with him on every service ; and the men of his corps used often to call themselves ' Wellesley ka Pulten,' or Wellesley's battalion, and their conduct on every occasion was calculated to support the proud title they had assumed. This corps, some years before the period of which we are now speaking, attained very high reputation under Captain Dunwoody, an officer whose memory continues to be respected and cherished in the native army of Fort St. George. A staff officer, after the battle of Assaye, saw a number of the Mahomedans of this battalion assembled, apparently for a funeral ; he asked whom they were about to inter : they mentioned the names of five commissioned and non-commissioned officers of a very distinguished family in the corps. ' We are going to put these brothers¹ into one

¹ The term ' brothers' extends in India to first cousins.

grave,' said one of the party. The officer, who was well acquainted with the individuals who had been slain, expressed his regret, and was about to offer some consolation to the survivors, but he was stopped by one of the men : ' There is no occasion,' he said, ' for such feelings or expressions; these men (pointing to the dead bodies) were sepoyos (soldiers); they have died in the performance of their duties; the Government they served will protect their children, who will soon fill the ranks they lately occupied.' The respected and distinguished officer, the late Sir Robert Barclay, to whom we owe this and the following anecdote of the Madras troops, concludes a note he had been kind enough to write on the subject with the following remark :—' I have seen (he observes) the Madras sepoyos engaged in great and trifling actions more than fifty times; I never knew them behave ill, or backward, but once, when two havildars (or serjeants) that were next to me, quitted their post, from seeing the fire chiefly directed to me; but it is (he adds) but justice to state that, on other occasions, I have owed my life to the gallantry of my covering havildar.'

Though sensible I have dwelt too long upon this part of my subject, I cannot forbear recording an example of that patience with which the native troops meet privation and distress. In 1804, the subsidiary force in the Deccan, commanded by Colonel Haliburton, was inclosed between two rivers, which became suddenly so swollen as to cut off their supplies of provisions. It was a period of general famine, and the communication was cut off with the grain dealers, from whom alone they could expect a supply. All the rice in camp was found to be barely sufficient for five days' allowance, at a very reduced rate, to the European part of the force. Issues to the sepoyos were stopt, but while they were left to the scanty subsistence they might be able to procure for themselves, they were appointed the sole guards over that grain, from all share in which they were from necessity excluded. This duty was performed with the strictest care, and the most cheerful submission. Fortunately the waters subsided, and an ample supply prevented their feeling that extreme of famine, the prospect of which they had contemplated with an attention to discipline and a

composure of mind which even astonished those best acquainted with their habits of order and obedience.

Bombay Army.—It was at Bombay that the first native corps were disciplined by the English. Of the exact date I am ignorant, but regular sepoys are noticed in the account of the transactions of that part of India some time before they were embodied at either Madras or Bengal. A corps of 100 sepoys from Bombay, and 4000 from Tellicherry, is mentioned as having joined the army at Madras in A. D. 1747, and a company of Bombay sepoys, which had gone with troops from Madras to Bengal, were present at the victory of Plassey. The sepoys at Bombay continued long in independent companies, commanded by subadars or native captains. As the possessions and political relations of that settlement were enlarged, its army increased. The companies were formed into battalions under European officers; and during the war with the Mahrattas, A. D. 1780, we find the establishment consisting of fifteen battalions. These, at the termination of the war with Tippoo, 1783, were reduced to six, and one battalion of marines. In 1788, its numbers were augmented to twelve battalions. In 1796, it was reformed into an establishment of four regiments of two battalions each, from which it has been progressively raised, by the acquisition of territory and subsidiary alliances, to its present establishment.

The men of the native infantry of Bombay¹ are robust and hardy, and capable of enduring great fatigue upon very slender diet. This army has, from its origin to the present day, been indiscriminately composed of all classes, Mahomedans, Hindoos, Jews, and some few Christians. Among the Hindoos, those of the lowest tribes of Mahrattas and the Purwarrie, Soortee and Frost sects, are much more numerous than the Rajpoots and higher castes. The Purwarrie are generally from the southward of Bombay, the Frosts and Soortees from the

¹ Since this was written, a considerable change has taken place in the composition of the Bombay native army.

northward. These are men of what is termed very low caste, being hardly above what are called pariahs, on the coast of Coromandel. Jews have already been favourite soldiers in this army, and great numbers of them attain the rank of commissioned officers. An officer of rank and experience in the Bombay army, observes, 'the Jews are clean, obedient, and good soldiers, make excellent non-commissioned and commissioned officers, until they arrive at an advanced age, when they often fall off, and turn drunkards.' It is probably owing to the peculiar composition, and to the local situation of the territories in which they are employed, that the sepoys of Bombay have at all periods been found ready to embark on foreign service. They are, in fact, familiar to the sea, and only a small proportion of them are incommoded in a voyage by those privations to which others are subject from prejudices of caste. But this is only one of the merits of the Bombay native soldier: he is patient, faithful, and brave, and attached in a remarkable degree to his European officers. There cannot be a class of men more cheerful under privation and difficulties. I question, indeed, if any army can produce more extraordinary examples of attachment to the government it served and to its officers than that of Bombay.

Towards the close of the war with Tippoo, in 1782, the whole of the force under General Matthews were made prisoners. The Sultan, sensible of the advantages he might derive from the accession of a body of well-disciplined men, made every offer that he thought could tempt the English sepoys into his service, but in vain. He ordered them to work upon his fortifications, particularly Chittledroog, which was very unhealthy, upon a seer (two pounds) of raggy (a small grain like mustard seed) and a pice (about a halfpenny) per day. On this pittance they were rigidly kept at hard labour through the day, and in close confinement at night, subject to the continued insults of their guards; but neither insult, oppression, nor sickness, could subdue their fidelity; and at the peace in 1783, 1500 of the natives of India, who had been made prisoners near the mountains of the coast of Malabar, marched a distance of 500 miles to Madras to embark on a voyage of six or

eight weeks, to rejoin the army to which they belonged at Bombay. During the march from Mysore, the guards of the Sultan carefully separated those men, whenever they encamped, by a tank (a large reservoir) or some other supposed insurmountable obstacle, from the European prisoners, among whom were their officers. Not a night passed (I write from a paper of an officer of distinction who was a witness of what he states) that some of the sepoyes did not elude the vigilance of their guards by swimming across the tank, or by passing the sentries, that they might see their officers, to whom they brought such small sums as they had saved from their pittance, begging they would condescend to accept the little all they had to give. ‘ We can live upon any thing (they used to say,) but you require mutton and beef.’ A considerable number of the sepoyes taken with General Matthews had, at the hazard of their lives, made their escape from the Sultan, and reached Bombay, through the Mahratta territories.

To the service in Egypt, in 1800, the Bombay troops proceeded with the same alacrity as to every other, and neither the new disorders (to them) of the ophthalmia or plague, from both of which they suffered, abated in the least degree their ardour. We can hardly contemplate an event in any history more calculated to inspire reflection on the character of that transcendent power which our country had attained, than the meeting of her European and Indian army on the shores of the Mediterranean.

During the progress of the war with France, subsequent to 1803, several parties of the Marine battalions of Bombay sepoyes were captured on board of the Company’s cruisers and carried to the Isle of France, where they were treated in a manner that reflects no credit upon the local government of the island, which probably expected that the hardships they endured would make them give way to the temptations continually held out, and induce them to take service; but in this they were disappointed: not one of those men could be persuaded to enter into the employment of the enemies of Great Britain; and when the Isle of France was captured, they met with that notice which they had so well merited. The Govern-

ment of Bombay granted to every individual who survived his captivity a silver medal, as a memorial of the sense which it entertained of his proved fidelity and attachment.

From the documents in my possession, many examples of individual heroism in the Bombay sepoy might be given, but I shall content myself with two, which will show in a very strong point of view the nature of their attachment to their European officers.

Four years ago, when the commanding officer (Lieutenant Colonel Hull) of a battalion on the Bombay establishment was proceeding along the banks of a ravine, with eight or ten men of his corps, to search for some lions, which had been seen near the cantonment of Kaira, in Guzerat, a royal tiger suddenly sprang upon him. The ground gave way, and the tiger and Major Hull rolled together to the bottom of the ravine. Though this fall prevented the latter from being killed by the first assault, still his fate seemed certain ; and those who know from having witnessed it, the terror which the attack of this fierce animal inspires, can only appreciate the character of that feeling which led every sepoy who was with him to rush at once to his succour. The tiger fell under their bayonets, though not before it had wounded two of the assailants most desperately ; one having lost his leg, and the other been so lacerated as to be rendered unfit for future service as a soldier. These wounds, however, were deemed trivial by those who sustained them, when they saw that the officer whom they loved had escaped unhurt from his perilous situation.

The second example of this strong feeling of duty is still more remarkable, as it was not merely encountering danger, but a devotion to certain death. I take the account of the transaction from a document¹ in which it was recorded at the period of its occurrence.

In 1797, Captain Packenham, in His Majesty's ship Resistance, accompanied by some small vessels of war belonging

¹ Madras newspaper, 27th Sept. 1797.

to the Company, took possession of Copang, the chief Dutch settlement on the eastern Isle of Timor. Lieutenant Frost, of the Bombay marine, commander of the Intrepid cruiser, who was to be appointed Governor of Copang, had taken a house on shore, where he expected Captain Packenham to meet the Dutch Governor, and make arrangements for the future administration of peace. The Malays had formed a plan, by which it was settled that the moment Captain Packenham landed to attend this meeting, they were to rise and murder all the Englishmen on shore. Fortunately something occurred to induce Captain Packenham to defer his visit; but he sent his boat, and its reaching the beach was a signal for the commencement of the massacre. Nearly twenty persons were slain. A large party had rushed to Lieutenant Frost's house. The head of his surgeon had been struck off, and his own destruction seemed inevitable, when two sepoys of the Bombay marine battalion, whom he had landed from his vessel, exclaimed to him, 'Save yourself by flight, we will fight and die;' at the same time exposing themselves to the fury of their assailants, and giving their commander time to escape to a boat. The sepoys, after a resistance as protracted as they could render it, were slain, and their heads exposed on pikes explained their fate to their lamenting companions on board the Intrepid. Captain Packenham took prompt and ample vengeance of this treachery; he opened a heavy fire upon the place, under which he landed an efficient force, which defeated the Malays, who fled after losing 200 men.

BENGAL ARMY.—I shall not dwell on details connected with the progress of this army, from a few companies who landed with Lord Clive in 1756, to its present number, which is nearly 100,000 effective native soldiers, commanded by about 2248¹ European officers, but content myself with noticing

¹ This is independent of the officers of artillery and engineers, and of invalid corps. In 1760, the whole of the European officers in the service of the Company in Bengal amounted to eighteen captains, twenty-six lieutenants, and fifteen ensigns.

those facts which appear best calculated to illustrate the disposition and character of the materials of which it is composed.

The first battalion raised in Bengal were ten companies of 100 men each, commanded by a captain, with one lieutenant, one ensign and one or two serjeants. Each company had a standard of the same ground as the facings, with a different device (suited to its subadar, or native captain), of a sabre, a crescent, or a dagger. The Company's colours, with the union in one corner, were carried by the grenadiers. The first battalions were known by the name of the captain by whom they were commanded, and though, in 1764, 19 corps received a numerical rank, corresponding with the actual rank of their commandants at that period, this did not prevent them from continuing to be known under their former appellation, or from assuming the name of a favourite leader; the 15th battalion, was raised in Calcutta in 1757, and called the Matthews, from the name of its first commander. This corps was with Colonel Ford in 1759, when that able officer, with 346 Europeans and 1400 sepoys, besieged and took by storm the strong fortress of Masulipatam, making prisoners a French garrison, who, both in Europeans and natives, were nearly double his numbers. In this daring and arduous enterprise we are told by the historian of India that 'the sepoys (who lost in killed and wounded on the storm 200 men) behaved with equal gallantry as the Europeans, both in the real and false attacks¹.' In 1763, in the wars with the Vizier of Oude, the 'Matthews,' which was with the force under the command of Major Adams, is stated, when the Company's European regiment was broken by cavalry, to have nobly supported His Majesty's 84th regiment, whose courage restored the action. Major Adams died shortly afterwards, and a general mutiny of the whole force took place, in which the sepoys at first joined, but were soon after reclaimed to their duty. At the battle of

¹ Orme's History of India, vol. iii. p. 489.

Buxar, which was fought in 1764, all the native corps appear to have behaved well.

In 1782, 'the Matthews' was one of three Bengal corps who mutinied, under an apprehension of being embarked for foreign service; and though the conduct of those corps¹ was remarkable for the total absence of that spirit of general insubordination and disposition to outrage by which mutinies of soldiery are usually marked, they were in the ensuing year broken and drafted into some other battalions. 'Thus fell 'the Matthews' (says Captain Williams), a corps more highly spoken of during the twenty-six years it existed than any battalion in the service; and at this day (he adds), if you meet any of the old fellows who once belonged to it, and ask them what corps they came from, they will erect their heads and say, 'Matthews ka Pultan,' or 'Matthews' battalion.' I cannot refrain from giving the following account of this mutiny, which is written by an officer who witnessed it. It is very characteristic of the Bengal sepoys—'The mutiny (this officer observes), excepting a general spirit of murmur and discontent, was confined to the single instance of refusing the service, and whilst in that state, preventing the march of two companies which were ordered to protect stores, &c. prepared for the expedition. The men were guilty of no violence of any description, and treated their officers with the usual respect. The discipline of the corps was carried on as usual; and notwithstanding some of the native officers and men who had acted the most conspicuous part were confined in the quarter-guards of their respective regiments, no attempt was made to release them. After a lapse of several weeks, a general court-martial was held, and two subadars and one or two sepoys were sentenced to death, by being blown away from the mouth of the cannon. The sentence was carried into execution, in the presence of those troops which had mutinied; excepting one other regiment, which was at the station, without the smallest opposition or even murmur; and the troops were marched round the spot of execution, amidst the mangled remains of their fellow soldiers, without any other apparent feeling than the horror which such a scene was calculated to

excite, and pity for their fate.' (It was thus also at Barrack-pore when the mutiny took place relative to proceeding to Rangoon.) The intended service was given up, and the regiments which had mutinied were pardoned in general orders; but on the return to the Bengal provinces of General Goddard's detachment, the officers and men of the regiments which had mutinied were drafted into those old battalions.

The present second battalion of the 12th regiment appears, from Captain Williams' account, to have been raised some months before 'the Matthews.' He indeed calls it the first raised battalion. This corps was at the battle of Plassey. It was named by the sepoys the La Pultan, or the Red¹ Battalion, and afterwards Gallis², from the name of one of the first captains. It was associated with the Matthews in all its early service, particularly at Masulipatam, Gheretty, &c.; but in 1764 it mutinied, on the pretext of some promises which were made to it having been broken. Having no apparent object, it was easily reduced to obedience; but Major Munro (afterwards Sir Hector Munro), who then commanded the army, thought a severe example necessary, and twenty-eight of the most guilty were tried by a drum-head court martial, and sentenced to death. Eight of these were directed to be immediately blown away from the guns of the force then at Choprah. As they were on the point of executing the sentence, three grenadiers, who happened to be amongst them, stepped forth, and claimed the privilege of being blown away from the right hand guns. 'They had always fought on the right (they said), and they hoped they would be permitted to die at that post of honour.' Their request was granted, and they were the first executed. 'I am sure (says Captain Williams, who then belonged to the Royal Marines employed in Bengal, and who was an

¹ Probably from its dress.

² The name of this officer was Galliez. The natives of India often corrupt English names in an extraordinary manner; Dalrymple is made into Dalduffle; Ochterlony, Lonyochter; Littlejohn, John Little; Shairp, Surrup, &c.

eye-witness of this remarkable scene) that there was not a dry eye among the marines, although they had been long accustomed to hard service, and two of them had actually been in the execution party which shot Admiral Byng in 1757.'

This corps subsequently distinguished itself in 1776 at the battle of Korah. It had been known originally as the first battalion. It was afterwards numbered the 9th, from the rank of its captain. In a new arrangement of the army it was made the 16th, then the 17th. By the regulations of 1796, it has become the 2d of the 12th regiment; and it has of late years, as we shall hereafter have occasion to mention, far outdone its former fame.

A detachment composed of six native battalions, a corps of native cavalry, and a proportion of artillery, altogether amounting to 103 European officers, and 6624 native troops, was in 17—sent from Bengal to the relief of the settlement of Bombay. Its first rendezvous was at Calpee, a town on the right bank of the Jumna, near Cawnpore, whence it commenced its march on the 12th June 1778. It reached Rajgurh, a town in Bundlecund, on the 17th August, where it halted so much longer than Mr. Hastings thought necessary, that he removed Colonel Leslie, the commanding officer, and appointed Lieutenant-Colonel Goddard to that charge. Under this active and enterprising officer it continued its route through Malwa and Candeish to Surat, presenting the extraordinary spectacle of a corps of the natives of Hindostan, under the guidance of a few officers, marching from the banks of the Ganges to the westernmost shores of India. During the five years that they were absent from home, the men of this detachment conducted themselves in the most exemplary manner, and acquired distinction in every service in which they were employed. I shall not repeat the warm and animated eulogium which Mr. Hastings passed upon this corps in one of the last general orders he issued to the army in Bengal, but all must subscribe to the truth of his observation, that their conduct showed that ‘there are no difficulties which the true spirit of military enterprise is not capable of surmounting.’

The force detached to the Carnatic in 1781 was com-

manded by Colonel Pearse. It consisted of five regiments, of two small battalions (500 men each) of native infantry, some native cavalry, and a proportion of artillery. This corps, which marched about 1100 miles along the sea-coast, through the province of Cuttack and the northern Circars to Madras, arrived at that Presidency at a most eventful period, and their services were eminently useful to the preservation of our power in that quarter. Among the many occasions which this detachment had of distinguishing itself, the attack on the French lines at Cuddalore in 1783 was the most remarkable. The Bengal sepoyes that were engaged on that occasion behaved nobly. It was one of the first times that European troops and the disciplined natives of India had met at the bayonet. The high spirit and bodily vigour of the Rajpoots of the provinces of Behar and Benares (the class of which three-fourths of this army was then composed) proved fully equal to the contest. In a partial action, which took place in a sortie made by the French, the latter were defeated with severe loss; and the memory of this event continues to be cherished with just pride both by the officers and men of the Bengal native army. Had the result of this affair, and the character of these sepoyes, been more generally known, some of our countrymen would have been freed from that excessive alarm which was entertained for the safety of our eastern possessions when the late despot of Continental Europe threatened them with invasion. I trust that every event that can seriously disturb the peace of our Indian empire is at a great distance; but if an European army had crossed the Indus, I should not tremble for its fate. I well know that the approach of such a force would strike no terror into the minds of the men of whom I am writing, and that acting with British troops, and led by British officers, they would advance with almost as assured a confidence of victory against a line of well-disciplined Europeans as against a rabble of their own untrained countrymen. They might fail; but they are too bold, and too conscious of their own courage and strength, ever to anticipate defeat.

I should feel hesitation in stating my sentiments so strongly on this subject, if I did not know them to be those which have

been entertained and avowed by many eminent commanders¹, who have had opportunities of forming a judgment upon this question. When Colonel Pearse's detachment, which had been reduced by service from 5000 to 2000 men, returned to Bengal after an absence of four years, the policy of Mr. Hastings heaped every distinction upon them that he thought calculated to reward their merits, or to stimulate others to future exertion of a similar nature. He visited this corps, and his personal conduct towards both the European officers and natives gave grace to his public measures. A lasting impression was made on the minds of all; and every favour was doubled by the manner in which it was conferred. An officer of rank and distinction (Major-General Sir Henry Worsley), who, when a young subaltern, was an eye-witness of this scene, observes, in a letter which he has written to me on the subject, 'Mr. Hastings, dressed in a plain blue coat, with his head uncovered, rode along the ranks. The troops had the most striking appearance of hardy veterans. They were all as black as ink, contrasted with the sleek olive skins of our own corps. The sight of that day (he concludes) and the feelings it excited, have never been absent from my mind; to it, and to the affecting orders (which Mr. Hastings issued), I am satisfied I, in a great degree, owe whatever of professional pride and emulation I have since possessed.'

The rebellion of Cheyt Singh, the Rajah of Benares, in 1781, must be familiar to all acquainted with Indian history. My purpose in mentioning it, is limited to the object of showing the conduct of the Bengal sepoys under one of the severest trials of fidelity to which they were ever exposed.

The numerous followers of the Rajah had risen upon

¹ I can particularly quote the late Lord Lake. No officer ever saw troops under more varied and severe trials than he did the Bengal sepoys. He never spoke of them but with admiration; and was forward to declare, that he considered them equal to a contest with any troops that could be brought against them.

two companies of sepoys appointed to guard the house in which he was placed under restraint, and killed and wounded the whole of them. The rashness of an European officer had led another party to slaughter in the streets of Ramnagur. Mr. Hastings, who was at Benares when these events occurred, had only a few companies of sepoys to guard his person, and even these he had no money to support. He summoned corps from different quarters to his aid; but when we reflect on the impression which the first success of Cheyt Singh had made, and consider that by far the greatest proportion of his troops, with whom Mr. Hastings had overcome the dangers with which he was surrounded were men of the same tribe and country as those against whom they were to act, and that the chief, who was declared a rebel, had long been considered by many of them as their legitimate prince, we must respect the mind that remained firm and unmoved at so alarming a crisis. The knowledge Mr. Hastings had of the sepoys led him to place implicit trust in them on this trying occasion, and his confidence was well rewarded. Their habits of discipline, and their attachment to their officers and the service, proved superior to the ties of caste and of kindred. Not an instance of defection occurred, and the public interests were preserved and restored by their zeal and valour.

Before I make any remarks on the more recent parts of the history of the Bengal native infantry, I must offer some observations on the composition of the army of that presidency. The cavalry is comparatively young; its formation on the present establishment was only just completed when the Mahratta war of 1803 commenced. Their conduct, however, in the severe service that ensued has justly raised their reputation, and they at present form a most efficient and distinguished branch of the army to which they belong. It is only to peruse the despatches of the late Lord Lake to be sensible of the excellence this corps very early obtained. I know few military exploits of cavalry more extraordinary than that which he performed with a column of three regiments of British light dragoons and three of native cavalry, supported by some horse artillery and a small reserve of infantry. With

this corps his lordship pursued Jeswunt Row Holkar from Delhi, through the Doab, till he came up with and defeated him at Futtighur. Lord Lake, in a despatch dated 18th November, in which he gives an account of this operation, observes, 'The troops have daily marched a distance of twenty-three or twenty-four miles. During the night and day previous to the action they marched fifty-eight miles, and from the distance to which they pursued the enemy, the space passed over, before they had taken up their ground, must have exceeded seventy miles.' The men are rather stouter than those in the same corps at Madras. The latter are almost all Mahomedans, and a considerable proportion of the Bengal cavalry are of the same race. The fact is, that with the exception of the Mahratta tribe, the Hindoos are not, generally speaking, so much disposed as the Mahomedans to the duties of a trooper; and though the Mahomedans may be more dissipated and less moral in their private conduct than the Hindoos, they are zealous and high-spirited soldiers, and it is excellent policy to have a considerable proportion of them in the service, to which experience has shown they often become very warmly attached. In the native infantry of Bengal the Hindoos are in the full proportion of three-fourths to the Mahomedans. They consist chiefly of Rajpoots, who are a distinguished race among the Khiteree or military tribe. We may judge of the size of these men when we are told that the standard below which no recruit is taken is five feet six inches. Before 1796 it was always five feet six inches and a half. By an order in 1809, men may be taken for light infantry corps as low as five feet five inches. The great proportion of the grenadiers are six feet and upwards. The Rajpoot is born a soldier. The mother speaks of nothing to her infant but deeds of arms, and every sentiment and action of the future man is marked by the first impressions that he has received. If he tills the ground (which is the common occupation of this class), his sword and shield are placed near the furrow, and moved as his labour advances. The frame of the Rajpoot is almost always improved (even if his pursuits are those of civil life) by martial exercises; he is from habit temperate in his

diet, of a generous, though warm temper, and of good moral conduct; he is, when well treated, obedient, zealous, and faithful. Neither the Hindoo nor the Mahomedan soldier of India can be termed revengeful, though both are prone to extreme violence in points which they deem their honour, of which they have a very nice sense. One instance is given in Captain Williams's narrative of the action of this violent spirit. In 1772, a sepoy of the now first battalion of the 10th regiment, who had suffered what he supposed an injury, fell out of the ranks when the corps was at exercise, and going up to Captain Ewens, the commanding officer, with recovered arms, as if to make some request, took a deliberate aim and shot him, then patiently awaited the death he had merited. I could give several examples of similar feeling; two will suffice. Captain Crook, formerly of the Madras cavalry, struck a sentry for allowing a bullock that brought water to his tent, to step over the threshold and dirty it. The man took no notice of what had occurred till relieved from his post: he then went to his lines, and a short time afterwards sought his captain, and taking deliberate aim at him, shot him dead upon the spot. He made no attempt to escape. He had avenged his honour from the blows he had received, and met with calmness and fortitude the death that was awarded as the punishment of his crime. An officer (still living) was provoked at some offence the man had committed to strike a Madras native trooper under his command. On the night of the same day, as he was sitting with another officer in his tent, the trooper came in, and, taking aim at him, fired; but, owing to the other officer striking his arm, the ball missed. As, however, he fell in the confusion, and the light was extinguished, his companion, who considered him killed, ran to obtain aid, and to seize the murderer, who had another pistol in his hand. The moment he was out of the tent, he heard the other pistol go off; and, on returning with a guard of men and some lights, he found that the trooper, conceiving that the first shot had taken effect, and that his honour was avenged by the death of the person who had insulted him, had, with the second pistol, shot himself through the head.

The Rajpoots sometimes want energy, but seldom, if ever, courage. It is remarkable in this class, that even when their animal spirits have been subdued so far as to cause a cessation of exertion, they show no fear of death, which they meet in every form it can present itself with surprising fortitude and resignation. Such is the general character of a race of men whose numbers in the army of Bengal amount to between 30,000 and 40,000, and of whom we can recruit in our provinces to any amount. But this instrument of power must be managed with care and wisdom, or that which is our strength may become our danger. It must always be recollected that minds of the caste we have described are alive to every impulse, and, from similarity of feeling, will all vibrate at the same touch. If we desire to preserve their attachment, we must continue to treat them with kindness, liberality, and justice; we must attend to the most trifling of their prejudices, and avoid rash innovations, but above all, those that are calculated to convey to their minds the most distant alarm in points connected with their usages or religion.

A detachment of Bengal native troops shared in the glory acquired by Lord Cornwallis in his war against Tippoo Sultan in 1790 and 1791. From that time till 1803, the only operation of any consequence in which they were engaged was a short campaign, in Rohilcund, in 1794. The rude and untrained, but fierce and hardy enemies against whom Sir R. Abercrombie had to act, were perhaps too much despised, and they took advantage of a confusion caused in his right wing, by the bad behaviour of the English commandant of a small body of half-disciplined cavalry, to make a furious charge, by which a most destructive impression was made on two battalions of sepoys and a regiment of Europeans.

Their desperate career was checked by the fire of the English artillery, by whose good conduct, and the steady valour of the other parts of the line, a victory was ultimately gained. The native troops never, perhaps, displayed more courage than on this trying occasion, and all regretted that the infamous¹

¹ The name of this officer was Ramsay. He escaped, by desertion, from the punishment he had so amply merited.

conduct of one man had caused such serious loss of officers and men in some of the most distinguished corps of the army. The corps on the right of the army was the 13th battalion, which had been eminently distinguished against the French at Cuddalore. It had earned more laurels under its well known commander, Captain Norman Macleod, in the campaigns of Lord Cornwallis. Captain Ramsay's cavalry rode unexpectedly over this fine battalion, and 5000 Rohillas charged it, before it could recover from the confusion into which it was thrown.

The campaigns of 1803 and 1804 present a series of actions and sieges, in every one of which the Bengal sepoys showed their accustomed valour. At the battles of Delhi and Laswarree they were as eminently distinguished as at the sieges of Agra and Deeg ; and I may safely assert, that in the only two great reverses which occurred during the war, the retreat of Colonel Monson and the siege of Bhurtpore, the courage, firmness, and attachment of the native troops were more conspicuous than in its most brilliant periods. We know sufficient of the former operations to regret that no full and faithful account of them has yet been published ; nor does Captain Williams's narrative supply this blank. I can only express my conviction, founded on a perusal of a private journal kept by an officer of the detachment, that in this disastrous retreat, the native troops (with the exception of a very few, who, after suffering almost unparalleled hardships, were deluded by the offers of the enemy to desert) behaved in the most noble manner. They endured the greatest privations and distresses, during the march from the banks of the Chumbul in Malwa, where the first retrograde movement was made, till their arrival at Agra, a distance of nearly 400 miles. They had at once to combat the elements (for it rained almost incessantly) and the enemy. At the Chumbullee Nullah, a rapid torrent, at which the elephants were employed to carry the troops over, the animals becoming wearied or impatient, shook off those on their backs, numbers of whom were drowned. But a still more horrid scene ensued. The fatigued elephants could not bring over the followers. The Bheels, a mountain banditti, encouraged by Holkar, came down upon the unprotected females and children, whom

they massacred in the most inhuman manner. It was on this extreme trial that some of the gallant fellows, who had before suffered every hardship with firmness, gave way to despair. Several of them, maddened with the screams of their wives and children, threw themselves, with their firelocks, into the rapid stream, and perished in a vain attempt to aid those they loved more than life. Scenes of horror occurred which were hardly ever surpassed ; yet, though deprived of regular food and rest, and harassed with continued attacks, their spirit was unbroken. They maintained throughout the most severe discipline, and I am assured that on many occasions, when their European officers, worn down by the climate and fatigue, appeared faint and desponding, the men next them exclaimed, ' Keep up your heart, sir, we will take you in safety to Agra !' When in square, and sustaining charges from the enemy's horse, it more than once happened, when a musket was fired by a young soldier, that a veteran struck him with the butt end of his firelock, exclaiming, ' Are you mad, to destroy our discipline and make us like the rabble that are attacking us ?'

The only serious impatience that the sepoys of this detachment showed was to be led against the enemy ; and the manner in which they behaved on all occasions given them of signalizing their valour showed that this feeling had its rise in no vain confidence. The flank companies, under Captain O'Donnell, were very successful in beating up the quarters of a considerable corps of the enemy on the 21st July. On the 24th of August, when all the detachment, which consisted of five battalions and six companies of sepoys, had been sent across the Bannas river, except the second battalion of the second regiment, and some piquets, Holkar brought up his infantry and guns to attack this corps, which not only defended its position, but advanced with the utmost gallantry and obtained possession of several pieces of the enemy's artillery. It could not, however, be supported by the other parts of the force, who

¹ I have been informed of this fact by officers to whom these expressions were used.

were divided from it by the river, and it was almost annihilated. Those who witnessed the attack which it made upon Holkar's line from the opposite bank of the Bannas, speak with admiration of the heroism of the European officers, and of the gallant men whom they led to a momentary but fatal victory. At the close of this affair they saw a jemadar (native lieutenant) retiring towards the river, pursued by five or six men. He held the standard of his battalion in one hand, and a sword, with which he defended himself, in the other. When arrived at the river he seemed to have attained his object of saving the colours of his corps, and, springing with them into the current, sunk to rise no more.

There have been few officers who better understood the character of soldiers than the late Lord Lake; he had early discovered that of the Bengal sepoys; he attended to their prejudices, flattered their pride, and praised their valour. They repaid his consideration of them with gratitude and affection, and during the whole of the late Mahratta war¹ their zeal and devotion to the public service was increased by the regard and attachment which they entertained for the commander-in-chief. Sufficient instances of this are recorded by Captain Williams. There is none, however, more remarkable than the conduct he pursued towards the shattered corps of Colonel Monson's detachment. He formed them into a reserve, and promised them every opportunity of signalizing themselves. No confidence was ever better repaid, and throughout the service that ensued these corps were uniformly distinguished.

The conduct of the second battalion of the twelfth regiment may be taken as an example of the spirit that animated the whole. This corps, which has been before noticed under its first name of 'Gallis,' or the Lal Pultan, had behaved with uncommon valour at the battle of Laswarree, where it had 100 men and three officers killed and wounded. It was associated on that occasion with his Majesty's seventy-sixth regiment, and shared in the praise which Lord Lake bestowed on 'the hand-

¹ The war of 1803-4.

ful of heroes,' as he emphatically termed those whose great exertions decided that battle. It was with Colonel Monson's detachment, and maintained its high character in the disastrous retreat we have alluded to. But all its former deeds were outdone at the siege of Bhurtpore. It appears by a printed memorial which we have before us of its European commanding officer, that on the first storm of that fortress this corps lost 150 officers and men, killed and wounded, and did not retire till the last. On the third attack, when joined with the first battalion of the same regiment (amounting together to 800 men,) it became the admiration of the whole army. The second battalion of the twelfth regiment on this occasion not only drove back the enemy who had made a sally to attack the trenches, but effected a lodgment, and planted its colours on one of the bastions of the fort. Unfortunately this work was cut off by a deep ditch from the body of the place; and after the attack had failed the twelfth regiment was ordered to retire, which they did reluctantly, with the loss of 7 officers and 350 men, killed and wounded, being nearly half the number they had carried into action.

Examples of equal valour might be given from many other corps during the war, and instances of individual valour might be noticed in any number, but more is not necessary to satisfy the reader of the just title of the Bengal sepoys to the high name which they have acquired; their conduct throughout the arduous service in Nepaul, where they had at once to contend with the natural obstacles of an almost impracticable country, and the desperate valour of a race of hardy mountaineers, has been worthy of their former fame. I know of few instances where more has been required from the zeal and valour of the native troops than in the late campaign against the Goorkhas. The great successes of Major-General Sir D. Ochterlony could only have been gained by the patience and courage of the troops being equal to the skill and decision of their commander, and in the spirited and able operations of Colonel Nicolls, quarter-master-general of his Majesty's troops in India, against Almorah, where 800 sepoys, aided by a few irregulars, were led against 3000 gallant mountaineers, who occupied that moun-

tain fortress, and the heights by which it was surrounded. Victory could only have been obtained by every sepoy partaking of the ardour and resolution of his gallant leader. Of their conduct on this occasion we may, indeed, judge by the admiration with which it inspired Colonel Nicolls, who gave vent to his feelings in an order that does honour to his character. Speaking of an attack made by a party of sepoy grenadiers, he observes, 'this was an exploit of which the best troops of any age might justly have been proud.' Since the conclusion of this war a small body of these troops has had an opportunity of exhibiting, in a most distinguished manner, that firmness, courage, and attachment to their officers and the service which have always characterised this army. We allude to a recent occurrence of a most serious sedition at Bareilly, the capital of Rohilkund. The introduction of a police-tax, intended to provide means for the security of life and property, had spread alarm and discontent among an ignorant population, whose prejudices in favour of their ancient usages are so strong as to lead them to regard any innovation (whatever be its character) with jealousy and indignation. Acting under these feelings, the Rohillas of Bareilly, who are alike remarkable for their strength of body and individual courage, rose in a body to oppose the orders of the civil magistrate. They were influenced by a priest upwards of ninety years of age, who dug his grave, to indicate his resolution to conquer or die, and at whose orders the green flag or standard of Mahomet was hoisted, that religious feelings might be excited to aid the efforts which they now proclaimed themselves determined to make to effect the downfall of their European tyrants. What rendered this revolt more alarming, was the knowledge that the cause of the insurgents was popular over the whole country, and a belief that their success would be the signal for a general rise in the neighbouring provinces. All the force that could be collected to suppress this revolt was a detachment of between 300 and 400 sepoys of the twenty-seventh regiment of native infantry, and part of a provincial battalion, under Captain Boscowen, with two guns, and a party of about 400 Rohilla horse belonging to a corps lately embodied under Captain Cunningham. The former re-

ceived, with undismayed courage, the charge of an undisciplined, but furious and desperate rabble, who, encouraged by their numbers, which exceeded 12,000 armed men, persevered in the attack till more than 2000 of them were slain; and the latter, though of the same class and religion as the insurgents, and probably related to many of them by the ties of kindred, proved equally firm as the sepoys to their duty. When their priest advanced and invoked them to join their natural friends, and to range themselves under the standard of their faith, only one man was found wanting in fidelity; he deserted, and was soon afterwards slain by his former comrades, who continued throughout to display prompt obedience, exemplary courage, and unshaken attachment to the officer by whom they were led.

However slight this affair may seem, I do not recollect any occurrence in the history of British India more calculated to show the dependence of our power on the fidelity of our native troops, and the absolute necessity of adopting every measure by which their attachment can be confirmed and approved.

It is by treating the sepoys with kindness and consideration, by stimulating their pride, and by attending, in the most minute manner, to their feelings and prejudices, that we can command, as has been well observed, 'their lives through the medium of their affections;' and so long as we can, by these means, preserve the fidelity and attachment of that proportion of the population of our immense possessions in the east, which we arm to defend the remainder, our empire may be considered as secure.

Subsequent to the date of this account, the native arms of India have fully maintained the high reputation they had achieved.

During the campaigns against the Mahrattas and Pindaries, in 1817 and 1818, that in the territories of Ava, and the siege of Bhurrapore, in 1826, these troops evinced all the military qualities of zeal, attachment to their colours, and gallantry, for which they had been so long distinguished.

Each presidency has its separate army, commander-in-chief, staff, &c.; but the commander-in-chief

of the supreme government has a general authority over all the presidencies. The total armed force in British India is about 194,000 men: it may be said to consist of three branches, viz. Queen's cavalry and infantry; East India Company's European engineers, artillery, and infantry; and the Company's native artillery, cavalry, and infantry.

The European officers serving in British India are at present in number and distribution as follows¹ :—

Corps.	Bengal.	Madras.	Bombay.	Total.
Hon. Company's Engineers.....	56	37	42	135
European Horse.....	53	35	24	112
Ditto Foot	68	56	26	150
Native Horse	12	*	*	12
Ditto Foot.....	17	18	18	53
Cavalry ... { Her Majesty's Regiments ...	50	29	30	109
Hon. Company's Regulars ...	140	107	48	198
Ditto Irregulars	23	...	3	26
Her Majesty's Regiments ...	223	229	135	587
Hon. Company's Euro. do....	29	28	33	80
Infantry ... { Do. Native Regulars.....	1070	692	425	2187
Do. Irregulars.....	35	...	...	35
Staff	94	94	80	188
Medical Department	194	128	72	394
Commissariat ditto	25	25	13	63
Pioneers' Corps†.....	—	—	—	—
Warrant Officers of Artillery	58	57	43	158
Total	2147	1535	992	4487

* Included in European horse artillery.

† There is now no separate Pioneer Corps. The pioneers and sappers and miners are embodied in one corps, called the Engineer Corps.

¹ I am indebted for these late returns of the Anglo-Indian army to Colonel Salmond, of the military department at the India House, who, with the permission of the Court of Directors, has furnished me with much valuable information.

The total number of European officers, it will be observed, is 4487, of whom 752 are in the Queen's military service. The complement of officers to each regiment is, of Europeans, one colonel, one lieutenant-colonel, one major, five captains, eight lieutenants, four cornets or ensigns ; of native commissioned officers there are a subadar and jemadar with each troop or company. The command of stations is given to brigadiers, of whom there are, in Bengal 16, in Madras 12, and in Bombay 7. The divisional commands, under general officers, are—Bengal, Queen's, 2 ; East India Company, 5 : Madras, Queen's, 2 ; East India Company, 3 : Bombay, Queen's, 1 ; East India Company, 2. Total, Queen's, 5 ; East India Company, 10.

On the Bengal establishment there are ninety-nine corps, namely—3 of horse artillery, 7 of foot artillery ; a corps of engineers equal to 3 others in the strength of its officers ; 10 of native cavalry ; 2 of European infantry, and 74 of native infantry. In each of these the European commissioned officers consist of 1 colonel, 1 lieutenant-colonel, 1 major, 5 captains, 8 lieutenants, and 4 second lieutenants, cornets, or ensigns. The total establishment thus, is 1980 ; or 99 colonels, the same of lieutenant-colonels, and of majors ; 495 captains, 792 lieutenants, 396 ensigns, and about 180 supernumeraries of the junior rank, awaiting the process of absorption.

The average number of European officers in Bengal, annually for the last eighteen years, has been 1754 ; of casualties, 80, per annum, or 1 in 22 ; of deaths, 54, or 1 in 32 ; and of retirement, &c. 26, or 1 in

67. In Madras, total number of officers, 1346 ; of casualties, 75, or 1 in 18 ; of deaths, 52, or 1 in 26 ; and of retirements, &c. 23, or 1 in 58. In Bombay, total number of officers, 624 ; of casualties, 34, or 1 in 18 ; of deaths, 26, or 1 in 24 ; of retirements, &c. 8, or 1 in 78.

The total casualties of commissioned officers in the East India Company's army at the three Presidencies, from 1813 to 1833, has been yearly, 169, 154, 159, 143, 150, 203, 198, 167, 194, 164, 168, 260, 233, 244, 233, 163, 193, 204, 244, 227, 228.

In 1835, the number of high ranked officers of the East India Company's service attached to the Indian army establishment,

	Bengal.	Madras.	Bombay.	Total
Lieutenant-generals	6	10	0	16
Major-generals	9	9	3	21
Colonels	84	51	34	169
	—	—	—	—
	99	70	37	206
In Europe	55	50	29	134
	—	—	—	—
On service	44	20	8	72

The lieutenant-colonels at the same period amounted to 206, majors 206, captains 1030, and subalterns, 2472. In the Company's army there is no half-pay list, no sinecures, and no pensioners under 25 years' service ; until that period is completed, European commissioned officers are not enabled to retire on the full pay of their rank, which is attained by seniority. A lieutenant-colonel, major, or captain, retires on the half-pay of his rank, if his health requires his

relinquishing the service, and a lieutenant having served 13, or an ensign 9 years (including 3 years for a furlough) may retire on ill-health certificates, on the half-pay of their rank. There are military funds to which liberal subscriptions are made by the Company's Government, but the charges are principally borne by the officers themselves. The general ser-vitude of the officers in the Company's army is thus shown :—

Abstract Statement of the dates of Promotion and periods of Service of the Field Officers, Captains, and Senior Subalterns of the Armies of the three Presidencies, on the 1st of January, 1835.

* In the Artillery and Engineers there are two Senior Lieutenants in each Battalion.

The officers in the Company's service receive commissions from Her Majesty corresponding with those which they receive from the East India Company; but westward of the Cape of Good Hope, the Company's officers possess no rank when on service with the Queen's officers; eastward of it they take precedence according to date and rank of commission. It is but justice to state, that in no part of the globe can there be found a braver or more gentlemanly community than the officers in the Company's service. The officers for the East India Company's artillery and engineers are educated at Addiscomb College, near Croydon, in the oriental languages, as well as in military discipline. Each cadet pays 65*l.* the first year, and 50*l.* the second. The cadets are clad in uniform, and get their appointments as soon as qualified. The examination is very strict, and if a lad fails for the engineers or artillery, but evinces general talent and diligence, he is recommended for the infantry. The East India Company purchased Addiscomb College and grounds in 1810 for 17,251*l.*; the building cost 82,869*l.*; and the total expenditure from 1810 to 1830 was 366,154*l.* of which 37,136*l.* was for instructing the cadets in trigonometrical surveys and the art of sapping and mining, &c.; for books, stationery, and mathematical instruments, 18,752*l.*; and the rewards to cadets for industry and talent amounted in four years to 1,600*l.* The total number of cadets educated during the period has been two thousand and ninety; and to the excellence of the establishment, the success and extraordinary formation of the East India Company's fine

army is pre-eminently due, while the expenditure on each cadet has not averaged 98*l.*

The following table shows the number of European non-commissioned officers and rank and file in India, and the corps and presidencies to which they belong :—

Corps.	Bengal.	Madras.	Bombay.	Total.
Hon. Company's Engineers	24*	23*	30*	77
European Horse	998	458	471	1927
Ditto Foot	2076	1431	847	4354
Native Horse	6	12	...	18
Ditto Foot.....	8	2	2	12
Cavalry { Her Majesty's Regiments ...	1202	659	664	2525
Hon. Co.'s ditto	30	18	9	57
H. M. European.....	6043	5135	2701	13879
Infantry { Hon. Co.'s ditto	933	756	782	2471
Do. Native Regulars	146	104	11	261
Do. do. Irregulars	17	...	...	17
Staff	98	87	30	205
Invalids' ditto	177	266	32	475
Total.....	11758	8951	5649	26277

* This includes pioneers, as well as sappers and miners, which are now all embodied in one corps, called the Engineer Corps.

The total number of European troops in India (exclusive of commissioned officers) is 30,975, of whom 19,540 belong to Her Majesty's cavalry and infantry regiments. The number of Queen's troops serving in India from 1813 to 1830, has been annually as follows : 21,490, 20,049, 19,828, 20,432, 18,709, 20,110, 17,680, 16,743, 16,290, 15,876, 16,652, 16,395, 16,683, 16,832, 18,249, 19,612, 20,132, 20,292. The cost of these troops (*defrayed*

*by the natives of India, not by the British public) varies from 800,000*l.* to 1,000,000*l.* a year, independent of charges at home—(viz. 60,000*l.* a year for half pay, &c.) The East India Company are authorized by Parliament to raise annually in the United Kingdom, a certain number of men for the supply of their Indian army; and in virtue of this authority, they have recruited and sent abroad during the last eleven years 17,000 men, of whom 800 were dispatched to St. Helena regiments. Their dépôt is at Chatham, under the command of a few staff officers; the service is a favourite one with the public, and many of the finest young men in the country annually engage in it; if steady and intelligent, they obtain rank as warrant officers, deputy commissaries, conductors of stores, &c.*

Native commissioned officers in the Indian army according to the latest returns.

Corps.	Bengal.	Madras.	Bombay.	Total.
Engineers	28*	13*	19*	40
Artillery { Horse	6	7	...	13
Foot	48	22	24	94
Irregulars .....	...	...	...	...
Cavalry { Regulars	130	121	53	304
Irregulars	130	...	10	140
Infantry { Regulars	1187	684	397	2268
Irregulars	165	...	12	177
Native Doctors.....	219	100	68	387
Total.....	1913	950	583	3416

* This includes pioneers, as well as sappers and miners, which are now all embodied in one corps, called the Pioneer Corps.

The native officers are in fair proportion to the Europeans. The total number of native officers is 3416, of whom 387 are native doctors, carefully educated in the European principles of medicine and chirurgery. The native officers are raised from the ranks according to their merit, and are a most exemplary body of men, grey in years and experience, they are well calculated to be the intermediate link between the European and the sepoy soldier. Their steadiness of character and dashing bravery in the field (whether Hindoo or Moslem) has been previously shown, and it is regretted that they are not enabled to attain a higher rank than subordinate to the youngest European Ensign. Killadars or Commandants of forts should be allotted for the veterans, and every general officer should have one or two native aide-de-camps.

The number of native non-commissioned officers and rank and file in India, and the corps to which they belong, are—

Corps.	Bengal.	Madras.	Bombay.	Total.
Hon. Company's Engineers	1621*	1068*	809†	3498
European Horse.....	...	...	100	100
{ Ditto Foot .....	...	...	...	...
Native Horse	344	478	†	822
Ditto Foot Regulars	1917	643	601	3161
Ditto Irregulars .....	...	...	...	...
Gun Lascars	1248	532	851	2731
Ordnance Drivers	755	637	...	1392
Cavalry... { Regulars	4980	3910	1355	10245
{ Irregulars	3448	...	836	4284
Infantry { Regulars	54201	38238	18547	110986
{ Irregulars	9593	...	912	10505
Invalids.....	...	1878	912	2790
Total.....	78107	47384	24923	150514

* This includes pioneers, as well as sappers and miners, which are now all embodied in one corps, called the Engineer Corps.

† No separate corps of horse artillery.

These troops are composed of Hindoos and Musulmans, &c. mixed in every regiment, in a greater or less proportion; and in discipline, cleanliness, sobriety, and bravery, they are unsurpassed by any body of men. The native artillery make it a point of honour to be cut down at their guns rather than desert them, and wherever a British officer will lead it has rarely or never been found that his sepoy will not follow. The native cavalry are excellent and fearless riders, superior to Europeans, and good swordsmen; they are exceedingly fond of their horses, and take the best care of them: of the whole army it may be observed that no men are more alive to emulation; a medal is as highly prized by a sepoy

as by a British soldier, and hundreds of instances of heroism could be related of them which would do honour to Greek or Roman story. The Bengal army is considered to possess the highest caste men, being principally Rajpoots ; the Bombay sepoy is more a man of all-work, and the Madrasites are, perhaps, the hardiest race, but all are extremely tenacious of their rights, and adhere punctilioiusly to the customs which their religion ordains ; any violation of either, particularly of the latter, has ever been attended with serious consequences. If the native troops become averse, or unfaithful, to those whose salt they eat, all the European troops which England could raise would be insufficient for the preservation of India.

The distribution of the Indian army according to the latest returns.

BENGAL.			
Divisions of the Army.	Europ.	Natives.	Total.
Presidency (Calcutta)	3472	14448	17912
Dinapore.....	1164	4594	5758
Fortress of Buxar.....	51	...	51
Benares	932	4248	5180
Fortress of Allahabad	33	1500	1533
Cawnpore	2144	11837	13981
Meerut	3306	16105	19411
Sirhind	1407	6797	8204
Sangoor	198	6258	6456
Rajpootana Field Force	192	4375	4567
Meywar ditto	84	4395	4479
Malwa ditto	281	4124	4405
	13254	68673	90937

MADRAS.			
Divisions of the Army.	Europ.	Natives.	Total.
Centre Division.....	2394	8981	11375
Mysore Division	1766	8202	9968
Malabar and Kanara	764	2312	3076
Northern Division	510	7555	8065
Southern ditto	1026	5877	6903
Ceded Districts.....	981	1495	2476
Hyderabad Subsidiary Force	1080	5719	6799
Nagpore ditto	1139	3951	5090
Tennasserim Provinces	154	766	920
Prince of Wales Island and its Dependencies	87	1704	1791
	9901	46562	56493
BOMBAY.*			
Presidency Garrison	978	2896	3874
Southern Division	1080	5936	7016
Poonah ditto	3012	6559	6871
Northern ditto	1157	9760	10917
Sattarah Subsidiary	14	745	759
Asseergurh Fortress.....	11	742	753
	6252	26638	30190

* European Commissioned Officers on staff, employ, and leave, beyond the limits of this Presidency, not included; European and Native Veterans are included in European and Native Infantry.

The establishment of Queen's regiments in India is
—Bengal, cavalry, 2 ; infantry, 8. Madras, cavalry,
1 ; infantry, 8. Bombay, cavalry, 1 ; infantry, 4.

Grand total of Queen's and Company's military force.

Corps.	Bengal.	Madras.	Bombay.	Total.
Engineers*	1729	1681	900	4310
Artillery	7614	4288	3090	14992
Cavalry	10133	4844	3008	17985
Infantry	73642	45866	23952	143460
Medical Department	413	228	140	781
Commissariat	25	25	13	63
Staff	192	181	110	483
Invalids	177	2144	944	3265
Total.....	93925	59257	32157	185339

* Including the united corps of sappers, miners, and pioneers.

The subsidiary Indian forces and contingents, where they are specified in treaties with the East India Company, are as follows :—Subsidiary. Oude not less than 10,000 men; the Nizam 2 regiments cavalry and 8 battalions of infantry; the Guicowar 2 regiments of cavalry and 4000 sepoys; Nagpore not stipulated; Mulhar Rao Holkar, the strength judged adequate by the British Government; Travancore, 3 battalions of infantry; Cochin, 1 battalion ditto, Mysore and Cutch not specified.—Contingents of native chiefs. The Nizam, 10 cavalry and 12,000 infantry; Guicowar, 3000 cavalry; Nagpore, 1000 ditto; Holkar, 3000 ditto; Mysore, 4000 ditto (Central India); Joudpore, 1500 ditto; Ghuffoorkan, 600 ditto; Bhopaul, 600 cavalry and 400 infantry; and Dowlah and Purtumbghur, 50 cavalry and 200 infantry; and Dewap, 100 cavalry and 100 infantry. The following chiefs, not included in the preceding

list, are pledged to bring forward troops to the extent of their means when required by the Company's Government :—Rajahs of Bhurtpore and Macherry, most of the Boondela chiefs, chiefs of Rajpootana and Malwa not enumerated above, and the Rajah of Sattarah. The military force of the Rajpoot States is 7676 cavalry, and 27,788 infantry, of which Kotah alone has 20,700 infantry and 4200 cavalry. Sindia's army amounts to 10,000 cavalry and 20,000 infantry ; Holkar's force, 3456 cavalry and 2000 infantry ; the Rajah of Sattarah has 300 cavalry and 5000 infantry ; Runjeet Sing's formidable force, as given in the Meerut Observer, is thus detailed.

The Hydrabad subsidiary force, stationed in his Highness the Nizam's dominions, is furnished from the Madras presidency, and consists of the following troops :—One battalion foot artillery, two troops of horse artillery, a park of heavy guns, two regiments of native cavalry, one regiment of Europeans, and seven regiments of native infantry.

The Nizam's regular and irregular troops, under the command of British officers, are under the immediate controul of the supreme government, and consist as follows :—Four independent companies of artillery, with large establishments of field-pieces and heavy guns, one regiment of engineers, eight regiments of regular infantry, one garrison battalion, one invalid battalion, a body of invalids at Ellichapoor, and five regiments of irregular cavalry.

The payment of the Company's Hydrabad subsidiary force is provided for by treaty, and they are paid direct from the British treasuries through the

military paymaster. As to the Nizam's troops, they are paid direct by the Nizam's government, the total expense of which, it is said, amounts to about 42 or 43 lacs per annum.

The Seick army of the Punjab was, so late as the commencement of the current century, a mere military confederacy of predatory horse, and that gallant but unfortunate adventurer, George Thomas, considered them the most contemptible troops in Hindostan. The talent of Runjeet Sing has, within the last twenty-five years, established the military reputation of the Seicks, and this prince now possesses a regular army, accustomed to war, full of ardour, and jealous of renown. The Seicks possess many qualities which admirably fit them for a military life; they are individually brave and athletic, and are free from those prejudices of caste, which detract from the military classes of the native soldiery of British India. A Seick will eat of any thing but beef; his religion never requires him to undress at his meals, nor does it prescribe fasts, or inculcate any thing to interfere with the duties of a soldier; like the soldier of Europe, the Seicks are, however, not averse to the use of fermented liquors, and their sirdars are notoriously addicted to the vice of drunkenness.

The French legion of cavalry was formed by Monsieur Allard, senior; their uniform is blue with red facings; they are armed with the Polish lance, swords, and pistols; their system is that of the French lancers. The men of these corps are much attached to General Allard, and these troops only require a few

more European officers to be nearly on a par with our regular native cavalry.

The regular infantry, under General Ventura, are also disciplined in the French drill; the words of command are mostly French; they are armed with firelocks and bayonets; these troops are regularly paid and clothed. Runjeet Sing's own personal body-guard is a kind of legion of honour; these men are all arrayed in gorgeous dresses and rich armour, and compose the *elite* of the army. Their appearance in their red dresses with heron's plumes, and their martial aspect and blunt demeanor, is truly imposing; these men are all tried shots, and at eighty yards can generally hit a small brass pot every time with a matchlock.

The foreigners or Hindoostanies of the Seick army are men from the provinces of British India, and receive a stipulated monthly pay; many of the Seick soldiers receive rations of grain, besides their pay. The avarice of Runjeet Sing has sometimes occasioned mutiny amongst the regular infantry; in one instance, the Ghoorka battalion, on being deprived of a portion of their pay, refused to receive the residue, and as no attention was paid to their complaint, open revolt ensued. Runjeet Sing directed some cavalry to charge the mutineers: the Ghoorka battalion formed square and beat off the cavalry; the Maha Raja then became alarmed, and retired to the fort of Govind Gharra, when the French officers interposed, and induced the Ghoorkas to retire to their lines.

Monsieur Allard, the general of the regular cavalry,

was a distinguished officer in the imperial army of France, and is a man of high character and conciliatory manners; he adopts the Seick costume in allowing his beard to grow, and has married a native woman ; this officer wishes to return to France, and has been endeavouring to induce the Maha Rajah to allow his younger brother to take charge of his command during his absence.

Monsieur Ventura, general of infantry, served under Eugene Beauharnois in Napoleon's Russian campaign ; he is a brave and intelligent officer, but a violent man.

GENERAL ABSTRACT OF THE SEICK ARMY.—Guns in different forts, 108 ; ditto horse artillery, 58 ; ditto foot artillery, 142 ; total guns, 308. Mortars, 6 ; jamboorans on camels, 305 ; cavalry regular, 5200 ; ditto, irregular, 43,300 ; total cavalry, 48,500. Infantry, regular, 6000 ; ditto, irregular, 17,000 ; total infantry, 23,000. Golundaze, 1500 ; grand total army, 73,000. The horse artillery of Runjeet's army consist of guns of small calibre, and their field equipment resemble that of our late foot batteries, and consequently such artillery would be utterly unable to cope with our horse artillery ; still, as these guns are drawn by horses, their fire would be always available, which is not the case with bullock artillery.

In 1798, Tippoo Sultan's field army was estimated at 47,470 fighting men, and his revenues at one crore of rupees ; Runjeet Sing's army amounts to 73,000 men, and his revenues to one crore and eighty lakhs of rupees.

MILITARY FORCE IN INDIA, EUROPEAN

Year.	FORCE EMPLOYED (Queen's and Company's).							
	Bengal.		Madras.		Bombay.		All India.	
	Europ.	Natives.	Europ.	Natives.	Europ.	Natives.	Europ.	Natives.
1793	5440	29482	9981	29914	3347	10265	18768	69661
1794	5437	29655	9728	30728	3227	10214	18392	70597
1-95	5009	29304	8921	33277	2942	10271	16872	72852
1796	4842	32104	10620	38474	3094	13654	17956	84232
1797	7511	32812	13274	38910	3148	13346	23933	86068
1798	7389	40105	11283	36501	3494	14541	22166	91147
1799	7220	48540	11963	40503	4764	16399	23947	105546
1800	7719	49322	10301	46050	4812	19928	22832	115300
1801	7740	51169	13043	72653	2229	9042	23012	132864
1802	7199	45257	13460	67587	3682	9662	24341	122506
1803	7627	45226	12765	59513	4538	10472	24930	115211
1804	7655	71088	12225	69682	3162	14901	23042	155671
1805	7811	81257	12990	68842	4090	17575	24891	167674
1806	8857	74305	11709	61299	5879	26817	26445	156421
1807	8392	72257	12567	59572	5531	21794	24460	153623
1808	9966	71409	12759	58474	7073	21237	29798	151120
1809	10132	73468	13176	56766	8079	23883	31387	154117
1810	10715	77125	16244	55211	4993	24925	31952	157262
1811	17711	85342	18051	55873	4717	25450	34479	166665
1812	15232	86387	13890	55463	4713	23772	33835	165622
1813	15703	86502	13590	55847	4878	23991	34171	165900
1814	12441	87334	14104	52285	5106	23168	31651	162787
1815	12617	116925	13963	54741	5031	23906	31611	195572
1816	13144	117791	14051	56947	5204	23746	32399	98484
1817	12221	112310	13745	58381	5090	24443	31056	195134
1818	11582	124546	13739	59778	6840	26755	32161	211079
1819	11040	121306	12027	64475	6427	30097	29494	215878
1820	11676	121238	11333	77097	5636	30315	28645	228650
1821	11725	11762	11537	77181	5552	33925	28914	228068
1822	11500	117739	11747	65917	5818	32519	29065	216175
1823	13606	116228	11515	59908	5812	30663	30933	206799
1824	13565	122531	11884	57592	5136	32749	30585	212842
1825	14141	144471	10836	65586	5446	36068	30423	246125
1826	13809	143752	10836	72993	6227	43528	30872	250273
1827	14358	129943	11787	68240	6528	42739	32673	240942
1828	15329	120481	12384	63089	6844	40901	34557	224471
1829	17978	110564	13105	59698	6703	37400	35786	207632
1830	15701	96897	12981	57749	7727	32421	36409	187067
1831	14870	82389	11702	55945	8289	30480	34851	159107
1832	14294	79127	1172	48798	6748	28122	32762	156047
1833	13421	79567	11088	48279	6535	27227	31044	155074
1834								186118

AND NATIVE, FOR FORTY YEARS.

Relative Proportion per Mille.				Appoint-ments.		King's and Com.'s	European Commissioned Company's Officers.			
Bengal.	Madras.	Bombay	India.	Cadets.	Assistant Surgeons.	Authorised Establishment.	Retired on Full and Half Pay.	On Furlough Pay.	Retired per Mile.	Charge, £.
Both.	Both.	Both.	Natives.						Retired.	Furlough.
394	451	153	3711	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
394	454	151	3838	..	..	..	..	..	..	15641
382	469	145	4317	..	..	..	..	..	..	20537
361	474	163	4691	114	32	.....	..	81	.....	42175
369	478	151	3554	132	29	2142	9	107	4.1	3129
419	421	159	4112	408	36	2306	22	115	9.5	6728
430	405	163	4406	219	27	2592	39	93	15.0	9656
412	407	179	5049	474	27	2859	51	95	17.8	17696
377	549	072	5773	43	28	3084	71	100	23.0	23452
357	551	090	5092	291	31	3174	78	116	24.5	21830
377	515	107	5092	492	28	3185	93	157	29.2	29040
444	458	101	6755	357	42	3378	131	177	38.7	39869
462	424	112	6736	439	51	3614	146	171	40.4	42671
454	399	145	5914	340	36	3693	157	238	42.4	46050
477	400	151	6280	281	48	3907	181	209	46.3	42053
449	393	156	5071	233	24	3907	220	276	56.4	58221
450	377	172	4910	114	28	3918	240	253	61.2	65326
464	377	158	4921	194	27	3951	260	229	65.8	67994
482	367	149	4833	113	14	3951	268	213	67.5	76301
509	347	142	4264	53	28	3951	298	227	75.4	77719
508	347	144	4854	52	55	3935	314	237	79.4	83374
513	341	145	5143	56	40	3935	323	264	82.0	81663
570	302	127	6186	26	33	6064	332	227	81.5	79968
567	307	125	6126	25	38	4120	341	234	82.7	83514
550	318	130	6283	86	29	3255	345	269	105.0	85271
559	302	138	6563	290	33	3490	353	295	101.1	83666
539	311	148	7319	409	46	4598	358	292	78.0	86169
516	343	139	7982	470	62	4628	373	296	86.0	83742
501	345	152	7880	417	66	4689	375	301	79.8	8309
526	316	156	7436	258	59	4689	377	340	80.4	82012
546	300	153	6685	207	48	4920	392	350	79.8	84594
559	285	155	6959	368	39	5011	402	351	80.2	82595
573	276	150	8090	367	53	5191	442	385	85.9	89800
541	287	170	8430	466	74	5356	447	417	83.4	94094
527	292	180	7374	358	61	5422	477	430	88.0	96099
524	291	183	6499	354	59	5430	491	492	90.4	101674
519	299	181	5800	209	57	4833	507	532	104.9	100741
503	316	179	5110	93	42	4833	520	598	107.5	107395
.....	.....	.....	.....	61	49	4833	543	639	112.3	115798
.....	.....	.....	.....	21	6	4833				179041
.....	.....	.....	.....	102	29	4833				
.....	.....	.....	.....	146	22	4833				

Note.—This Return includes Provincial Corps; it omits Officers on Furlough to England. In the five years, 1801 until 1805, a portion of the Bombay army is returned as composing the Madras army, because it was employed in the Madras territory.

Distribution of the Anglo-Indian Army in 1813 and in 1830.

	In 1813.		In 1830.		Increase since 1813.		Decrease since 1813.	
	Europe.	Natives.	Europe.	Natives.	Europe.	Natives.	Europe.	Natives.
BENGAL TROOPS.								
Bengal, Bahar and Cuttack	2388	21622	5440	16776	3052	...	132	4846
Country between Bahar & Oude, including Ganges Posts	1494	5885	1362	4633	...	...	12	1252
Oude	155	6309	143	4809	274	1149	1500	1500
Doob and Territory between Ganges and Jumna	4521	12975	4795	14124	17	1920	...	...
Rohilkund	47	1943	64	3863	41	3552	...	...
Acquisitions from Nepal .....	..	..	..	..	1468	...	...	3071
Country west of the Jumna and north-west of Chumbul	765	19688	2233	15987	357	9102	...	...
Rajpootana .....	...	...	357	9102	246	6167	...	...
Ceded Districts in Nerbudda .....	...	...	246	6167	...	...	...	...
Bundlecund	144	5488	97	3688	...	4693	...	471800
Malwa .....	..	..	340	4693	340	3673	...	...
Assam, Sylhet, Chittagong, and Aracan	18	1103	84	4776	66	...	21	...
Penang	21	1620	...	...	...	...	1620	...
Total...	9553	76633	15202	92170	5861	30256	212	14719
Exclusive of Troops at Java Fort Marlborough; Engineers, Escorts, Ordnance Drivers, Conductors, Staff, &c.								
6150	9429	399	4727					
Grand Total...	15703	86082	15701	96897				

DISTRIBUTION OF THE ANGLO-INDIAN ARMY. 93

Distribution of the Anglo-Indian Army in 1813 and in 1830.

	In 1813.		In 1830.		Increase since 1813.		Decrease since 1813.	
	Europ.	Natives.	Europ.	Natives.	Europ.	Natives.	Europ.	Natives.
MADRAS TROOPS.								
Nizam's Dominions	1186	8455	1347	6811	211	...	...	1644
Rajah of Berar's ditto	...	...	816	4001	816	4001	...	...
Northern Circars	594	4753	944	6714	350	1961	...	...
Ceded Districts	1002	7588	1069	4472	67	...	...	3116
Mysore	3403	8891	1779	5682	...	...	1624	3209
Carnatic	4961	12246	3841	19371	...	7325	1120	...
Portuguese Territories	464	2820	...	...	...	...	464	2820
Malabar and Canara	1130	3076	959	2491	...	...	171	585
Travancore	493	2909	169	2455	...	...	324	454
Malay Peninsula	37	18	1141	2772	1104	2754	...	...
Candeish and Surat .....	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Poona	20	575	75	2456	75	2456	20	575
S. Mahratta Country .....	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Total...	13240	51331	12140	57425	2623	18497	3723	12403
Exclusive of Engineers, Conductors of Ordinance, Native Invalids and Staff.								
350	4516	841	324					
Grand Total...	13590	55847	12981	57749				

Distribution of the Anglo-Indian Army in 1813 and in 1830.

	In 1813.		In 1830.		Increase since 1813.		Decrease since 1813.	
	Europ.	Natives.	Europ.	Natives.	Europ.	Natives.	Europ.	Natives.
BOMBAY TROOPS.								
Cutch .....	...	...	116	1135	116	1135	...	...
Kattywar .....	...	92	1208	32	1208	2048	...	...
Guzerat	1053	5890	1260	7938	207	2857	...	...
Candeish and Surat	43	2205	108	5042	65	4287	...	...
Bombay Island	3383	6828	1446	3873	...	1937	2955	...
North and South Concan	24	1197	66	3997	42	2800	...	...
Poonah and Sattarah	253	7836	3580	7889	3227	53	...	...
South Mahdratta Country .....	...	...	861	1196	861	1196	...	...
Malwah .....	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Total	4736	33956	7469	32278	4650	11277	1937	2955
Exclusive of Engineers, Conductors, Staff, &c.								
122	35	258	143				Total of the three Presidencies.	
4878	23991	7727	32421	13134	60030	5872	30077	
Grand Total								

EXPENSE OF ANGLO-INDIAN ARMY SINCE 1813. 95

The expense and strength of the Anglo-Indian army at each presidency, independent of Prince of Wales' Island, St. Helena, &c., from 1813, was—

Years.	NUMBERS.			EXPENSE.				
	Bengal.	Madras.	Bombay.	Total.	Bengal.	Madras.	Bombay.	
1813	101759	69437	28869	200065	3075942	3048292	1123583	7247817
1814	99769	66389	28274	194432	3203788	2942508	1144804	7291100
1815	129536	68104	28937	22177	31795483	3106202	1394362	8296047
1816	130929	70998	28950	230877	33966940	3372775	1622564	8992279
1817	124526	72126	29533	228165	3858570	3189079	1545285	8592834
1818	136122	73517	33595	243234	4189034	3288219	2038513	9920366
1819	132340	76502	36524	245366	42726407	3725226	1938916	10390549
1820	132909	88430	35951	255290	4321106	3734724	1792739	9848569
1821	128983	88718	39277	256978	4475387	3571142	2170047	10216576
1822	129233	77664	38337	245234	3821344	4247936	1846808	9356102
1823	129473	71423	36475	237371	42266386	3109769	1781222	9117657
1824	135735	69446	37885	243066	4613104	3059041	1704653	9376798
1825	158304	76422	41514	276240	6175912	3314779	1704653	11193344
1826	157250	83829	49755	290834	7113114	3375338	2355647	1282099
1827	144056	80047	49267	273370	6439617	3315920	2156862	11912399
1828	135801	75473	47745	259019	3805075	2856230	1614131	8275436
1829	126527	72803	44103	213433	3381789	26611748	1549615	7793152
1830	112583	70730	40148	223461	33553687	2572820	1507313	7433820
1831	97552	67669	38769	203990	3313178	2386130	1355675	7171383
1832	93421	60518	34880	188819	3653768	2332457	1268719	7255934
1833	92989	59367	33762	186118	3149085	2407880	127431	7129396

*Note.—*From 1828-9 the conversion of the Indian money into sterling in the above account has been made according to the bullion value of the rupee, which causes an apparent diminution in the military charges, as compared with the charges in the years preceding 1828-9, of 16 per cent.

The annual charge of the army, in 1830, was :—

Corps.	Bengal.	Madras.	Bombay.	Total.
Hon. Company's Engineers	£ 23968	£ 24022	£ 35883	£ 83874
European Horse	88058	50788	60255	199141
Ditto Foot	110512	84597	57234	252843
Artillery Native Horse	27987	46252	... 74239	97705
Ditto Foot	43718	32812	21175	9035
Golundauze	3035	...	...	172588
H. M.'s European regiments	81832	40803	49953	718853
Cavalry Hon. Company's native regulars	290982	297316	130515	48581
Ditto ditto ditto irregulars	130812	...	179393	628612
H. M.'s European regiments	240899	267159	120554	122400
Infantry Hon. Company's ditto	33018	42356	47026	5102355
Ditto native regulars	1433366	1146000	522989	270712
Ditto ditto irregulars	242204	12980	12558	145195
Staff	174794	168501	30952	488490
Medical department	66672	35134	35393	132858
Pioneer corps	17312	21806	74511	614327
Commissariat department	382499	207346	24482	520302
Military charges not coming under the above heads	933769	724816	2178887	3216275
Total.....	4328537	3216275	1849510	9394322

In the army estimates for 1835-6, the charge for, and numbers of, four regiments of dragoons and twenty battalions of infantry is thus specified :—*Calvary*, horses, number 2804; officers, number 188; non-commissioned ditto and trumpeters, number

268 ; rank and file, 2700 ; total of all ranks, 3156 ; pay and allowances of ditto, 115,233*l.* ; allowances to field-officers, &c. 4836*l.* ; agency, 1409*l.* ; clothing, 12,860*l.* ; total for 365 days, 134,338*l.* Infantry, officers, number 1020 ; non-commissioned ditto and drummers, number 1200 ; rank and file, number 14,780 ; of all ranks, 17,000 ; pay and allowances, 495,283*l.* ; allowances to field-officers, &c. 7928*l.* ; agency, 5021*l.* ; clothing, 46,499*l.* ; total, for 365 days, 554,730*l.* Aggregate annual charges for cavalry and infantry (including 2835*l.* for dépôts at Maidstone and Chatham), 691,904*l.* Of staff-officers belonging to the British army, there are in India 24 colonels (charge 16,000*l.*) ; 48,000 lieutenant-colonels (16,248*l.*) ; and 48 majors (14,970*l.*)

The INDIAN MARINE, although at one time very considerable, is of late dwindling away ; it is attached to the Bombay presidency, and consists of 1 frigate, four 18-gun ships, six 10-gun corvettes and brigs, 2 armed steamers, and some surveying vessels. The number of officers may be stated at 12 captains, 14 commanders, 46 lieutenants, 71 junior officers, and about 500 European seamen, with a proportion of 4 warrant-officers to each vessel, and a complement of from 600 to 700 native seamen. The latest Parliamentary returns of the annual cost of the marine establishment at Bombay is :—Marine cruisers, &c. S. R. 1,194,573 ; marine office establishment, &c. 151,105 ; water, luggage, and ferry-boats, 25,831 ; dry docks, mooring chains, &c. 80,444*l.* ; building vessels, purchase of timber, &c., 424,741*l.* ; total, S. R. 1,876,894 ; or in sterling, 211,128*l.* During

the European wars, the Indian navy, on every occasion where an opportunity offered, have shown themselves in nowise inferior in naval tactics and bravery to her Majesty's service, while the extensive and valuable surveys which the officers have made of the islands, rivers, gulfs, and bays in the Indian and China seas, display their scientific acquirements in a pre-eminent degree, and entitle them to the gratitude of every nation trading to the east.

At Calcutta there is a marine establishment, which, though not of a warlike nature, is nevertheless of the utmost importance,—I allude to the pilot service, which has no equal in any country in Europe. The service consists of 12 strong, well-fitted, and quick-sailing vessels, of 200 tons burthen, schooner-rigged, and admirably adapted for withstanding the tempestuous weather from April to October, so frequent off the sand-heads at the mouths of the Ganges and Hooghly, where six or eight of the pilot vessels are constantly stationed, either at anchor or cruising about on the look-out for vessels coming up the Bay of Bengal; the moment a ship is seen, a pilot schooner makes towards her, puts a European pilot and a European leadsman on board, and then resumes her search for other ships approaching the port of Calcutta. It is projected to have a steam-vessel on the station to put the pilots on board.

The service is one of seniority, from leadsman or volunteers (the lowest) to branch pilot (the highest). The number of Europeans in the pilot service is about 130; they are intelligent, skilful, and gentlemanly men, well acquainted, from length of service, with the

difficult and dangerous navigation of the Hooghly. There are 12 branch pilots, 24 masters, 24 first mates, 24 second mates, and between 70 and 80 volunteers or leadsmen. The salary of a branch pilot is 70*l.* per month, of a master, 27*l.*, of a first mate, 15*l.*, and of a second mate and volunteer, 6*l.* per month. Each ship going up or coming down from Calcutta (a distance of 150 miles) gives a gratuity of about 100 rupees to the pilot and the leadsmen who have charge of the ship. The yearly cost, according to the latest return before Parliament is, in S. rupees, pilot schooners and buoy vessel, 368,585 ; steam vessels, 87,454 ; light-houses, &c. 108,505 ; master-attendant and establishment, 159,148 ; paymaster and storekeeper and establishment, 56,496 ; moorings, &c. 86,279 ; offices, establishments, &c. 68,309 ; buildings and repairs, 311,304 ; pensions, 80,266 ; total 1,326,346, or 153,856*l.* sterling. At Madras the marine is trifling, consisting of but 20 Europeans and 265 natives. The charges are for master-attendant, establishments, &c. at the presidency, S. R. 111,955 ; out-ports, 35,629 ; total, S. R. 147,584 : or in sterling, 16,867*l.*

MEDICAL.—The physical or medical branch of the Anglo-Indian service, as regards the number employed in the army and marine, is as follows :—

Numbers and Expense of the Medical Officers (European and native doctors) employed at each Presidency, and at Penang and St. Helena, since 1813.—N.B. The civil surgeons in the East India Company's service not included.

Years.	NUMBERS.						EXPENSE.			
	Bengal.	Madras.	Bombay.	Penang, &c.	St. Helena.		Bengal.	Madras.	Bombay.	Total.
	Europe.	Europe.	Europe.	Europe.	Europe.	Native.	Native.	Native.	£	
1813	156	144	137	176	92	8	4	2	727	19977
1814	169	150	142	155	92	7	4	2	729	24843
1815	156	181	143	145	95	7	4	2	729	25316
1816	174	196	164	161	96	7	4	2	740	42766
1817	162	188	152	160	94	6	3	2	811	29438
1818	178	211	151	156	99	6	3	2	774	2132
1819	165	228	146	154	93	16	4	2	814	30674
1820	171	214	173	167	108	7	3	2	814	21601
1821	164	207	174	191	107	8	3	2	851	94407
1822	169	213	169	199	116	3	4	2	863	21301
1823	173	203	192	185	114	62	4	2	882	93878
1824	174	215	196	185	108	62	4	2	942	22387
1825	183	242	185	206	108	80	4	2	953	93937
1826	192	258	179	227	110	86	3	5	1022	23993
1827	198	241	196	222	123	97	4	5	1067	24894
1828	239	236	195	269	109	87	3	6	1093	21120
1829	235	251	210	236	158	114	5	7	1152	8775
1830	222	235	212	282	156	136	5	10	1227	21835
1831	234	287	140	231	119	122	10	7	1266	70442
1832	241	306	118	233	118	145	10	7	1266	27518
1833	256	306	149	233	125	147	10	7	1266	133034

The range of professional talent is of the highest, and the valuable additions which the surgeons in the East India Company's service have made to our heretofore limited knowledge of the botany, zoology, geology, meteorology, &c. of the east, entitle them to the most honoured considerations. The medical societies and museums which have been established at each presidency have been the means of concentrating in a focus the invaluable local information which the different members of the service have an opportunity, while serving at distant stations, of acquiring ; and the native medical schools in which the Hindoo and Mussulman youths are taught anatomy, the practice of physic, surgery, and chemistry, either to enable them to serve as doctors and assistant surgeons in the Company's army, or as private practitioners, are as creditable to the munificence of the Company, as to the talent and zeal which presides over them.

RETIRING FUNDS.—The military, medical, and civil services of the East India Company have established retiring funds, to which each member contributes a monthly sum from his pay.

ECCLESIASTICAL.—The British clerical establishment in India was stated before Parliament, in 1832, (by Mr. Lushington) to be adequate to its purposes ; the European chaplains in 1817, were in number, thirty-nine ; in 1827, fifty-one, and in 1831, they were increased to seventy-six, of whom thirty-eight were at Bengal, twenty-three at Madras, and fifteen at Bombay. The clergy are under the charge of diocesans at each presidency. The total charge of the establishment in 1827, was 66,943*l.* sterling. A

late return gives the number of chaplains, stations, and ecclesiastical charges, as follows :

Presidency.	Stations.	Chaplains.	Charge.
Bengal . . .	18	38	£40,625
Madras . . .	18	23	20,199
Bombay . .	12	15	6,119

In 1830-31, the salaries and allowances paid by the Indian government, at each presidency, for the support of the clergy and places of worship, was— Bengal Episcopal, sa. rs. 425,876; Scotch Church, 20,451; Roman Catholic, 4,000; total, 450,327. Madras Episcopal, Mad. rs. 206,976; Scotch Church, 11,760; Roman Catholic, 5,346: total, 224,082. Bombay Episcopal, Bomb. rs. 178,578; Scotch Church, 20,862; Roman Catholic, 820; total, 200,280. Grand total, 874,669 rupees, or about 85,000*l.* (See Chapter on *Religion*).

INDIAN PATRONAGE.—The Directors of the East India Company have the nomination of writers, cadets, and assistant-surgeons for the Indian service, this with a salary of 300*l.* a year is the sole reward which they receive for their services, for by their oath they are bound to accept no pecuniary consideration for any appointment whatever. The number of writers, cadets, and assistant-surgeons required for the year being made known, the number is divided into thirty shares, of which the chairman and deputy chairman have each two, the President of the Board of Control two, and each director one. Her Majesty's ministers, through the Board of Control, have the appointment of judges, bishops, officers of the Queen's army, and a negative on the Court of Direc-

tors' nomination of the governor general, governors, commanders-in-chief, and members of council.

The patronage of *appointment* rests only with the home authorities, that of *promotion* is thus managed. A writer on proving his qualifications in India is allowed to fix on any branch of the service, (revenue, judicial, or political), and the principle of succession to office is regulated partly by seniority, and partly by merit, blended so well together, as effectually to destroy favouritism, while a succession of offices is still left open for the encouragement of talent and industry. An Act of Parliament, providing that all situations exceeding in total value 500*l.* per annum, must be held by a civil servant of three years residence in India; ditto exceeding 1500*l.* a year, by one of six years standing; ditto, 3000*l.* by one of nine years, and of 4000*l.* and upwards by a servant of twelve years sojourn in the East. Thus, for vacancies under each classification, there are a certain number of candidates of the required local experience when the selection depends on the government, but every care is taken to make merit the sole ground for eligibility and success. The salaries of the whole civil service are now undergoing reduction and modifications, which it is thought will tend to stimulate the faculties of the functionaries employed.

The Company's civil servants are educated at the East India College of Haileybury, where each student must enter before he is twenty years of age, and pay 105*l.* per annum towards defraying the expensive and elaborate education which he receives in every essential branch of oriental and western literature,

philology and science, under the superintendence of a college council, and the most learned professors in England. The test of examinations for a writership is severe. The nominations during the last five years from the college consisted of sons of noblemen three; of baronets eight; of clergymen fourteen; of East India directors eight; of Company's civil servants thirty; of ditto, military ditto, twenty-two; of ditto, naval ditto, forty-two; of her Majesty's military and naval officers, twenty-seven; and of merchants, bankers, and private gentlemen, 110. The *net* expenditure of the College of Haileybury, from 1805 to 1830, was 363,427*l.*, of which 96,359*l.* was for the building; 33,553*l.* for books, and philosophical instruments, &c.; the salaries paid to professors, amount to 220,730*l.*, and the number of students educated was 1978.

The manner in which the patronage exercised in India is controlled by the Home Government of the East India Company, is as follows¹:

The records, as now sent home from India, contain the most minute description of the services, the character, and conduct of every individual in the civil establishment. Perhaps I may exemplify it by stating, that when members of council for India are appointed by the Court of Directors, a list of civil servants within a given period of the standing of those servants, from whence it is proposed to select members of council, is laid before the Court of Directors, which list contains a complete statement of the whole course of a servant's progress, from his arrival in India as a writer, to the date at which it is proposed to appoint him to a seat in coun-

¹ The late Secretary to the East India Company, P. Auber, Esq., gave in this valuable and lucid evidence on the subject.

cil. So it is with regard to every other civil servant in the establishment; and, if it would not be troubling the committee too much, I will take the liberty of reading a letter, which has particular reference to the course now observed with regard to the patronage in India, and the scrutiny which is exercised by the authorities here, or rather the knowledge which they possess of the course pursued by the government abroad. It is an extract of a letter from the chairman and deputy of the Court of Directors to Lord Ellenborough, dated November, 1829. 'The Legislature has placed the local governments in subordination to the government at home, it has exacted from them obedience to the orders issued by the constituted authorities in this country. The legislature has provided, that all the Company's servants in India, civil and military, under the rank of Governor-general and Governor, shall, in the first instance, receive their appointments from the Court of Directors; that the members of council shall, excepting in particular cases, be nominated by the court, and that the governor-general and governors shall likewise be appointed by the court, with the approbation of the Queen. The legislature has empowered the Court of Directors to recal the Governor-general and other governors, and to remove from office, or dismiss from their service, any of their servants, civil or military; and as a security against excessive lenity or undue indulgence on the part of the Court, it has conferred upon the crown the power, under her Majesty's sign manual, countersigned by the President of the Board of Commissioners, of vacating appointments and commissions, and of recalling any of the Company's servants, civil or military, from the Governor-general downward. By these provisions, the fortune of every servant of the Company in India is made dependant on the home authorities; and as long as the powers with which the latter are thus entrusted continue to be properly and seasonably exercised, there appears to us to be little ground for apprehension that the Indian functionaries will forget they are accountable agents, and still less that this forgetfulness will be generated by so inadequate a cause as an occasional delay

here, not in issuing necessary instructions, nor in replying to special references, but in reviewing their past proceedings.

' The legislature having thus provided sufficient sureties against the independence and irresponsibility of the governments in India, has with a just appreciation of the distance and all the extraordinary circumstances attending the connexion between the two countries, not only left to the governments there the distribution and disposal of all the Company's establishments, civil and military, and the power of suspending from the service such individuals as may be guilty of misconduct, but has delegated to them powers of legislation, and to the Governor-general, individually and temporally, some of the most important rights of sovereignty, such as declaring war, making peace, and concluding treaties with foreign states; and while it has enacted, that the wilful disobeying, or the wilful omitting, forbearing or neglecting to execute the orders of the Court of Directors by the local functionaries, shall be deemed a misdemeanor at law, and made it punishable as such, the enactment is qualified with the exception of cases of necessity, the burthen of the proof of which necessity lies on the party so disobeying, &c.

' Nor do the powers thus conferred (large as they are) exceed the exigencies of the case. It would be superfluous in addressing your lordship to enlarge on the magnitude of the trust reposed in the local governments, and the difficulties with which it is encompassed, difficulties so many and so great, as to be almost insuperable, if experience had not shown that to a great extent at least they may be surmounted. The imposition of the various checks with which the system abounds presupposes the grant of a liberal confidence in those to whom power is delegated. The individuals selected for members of the different councils of government are usually men of mature experience, who have distinguished themselves in the several gradations of the service. At the head of the two subordinate governments are generally placed persons who have recommended themselves to the home authorities by their eminent attainments, extensive local knowledge, tried habits of business, and useful services in India, or persons sent from this

country, who, without exactly the same recommendations, are on other grounds supposed to possess equal qualifications. The office of Governor-general has usually been filled by noblemen of elevated rank and character, who in some instances have held high offices of state in England, and who in going to India with the qualities of British statesmen, have there the means of acquiring a personal knowledge of the country and the people whom they are sent to govern ; and the allowances of the Governor-general, other governors and members, as well of the supreme as of the subordinate governments, are fixed on a more liberal scale, suitable not to the character of mere executive agents, but to the greatness of discretionary trusts and the weight of their responsibility.

' It is by no means our intention, in submitting the foregoing considerations, to apologize for any want of promptitude or regularity on the part of the local governments in reporting their proceedings to the Court, or to absolve the Court from the obligation of carefully revising those proceedings, and communicating their sentiments thereupon within a reasonable time, and above all of enforcing strict obedience to their orders where no sufficient reason is given for suspending or modifying them : all that we mean to infer is, that when the relative characters, position and powers of the constituted authorities at home and abroad are duly considered, a minute interference in the details of Indian administration was not contemplated by the legislature, and that as long as a general supervision is watchfully exercised, and no proceedings of importance are kept back from observation, overlooked, or neglected, its intentions are not necessarily defeated by an arrear of correspondence on matters of minor moment.

' It is doubtless indispensable that the home authorities shall exercise the utmost caution and circumspection in the selection of their Indian governors, and in the choice of fit persons for the councils of government ; that they shall constantly and vigilantly inspect the proceedings of those governments, as they may affect the interests of the state as well as the characters and prospects of individuals : that commendation and censure be impartially distributed, and that in cases of mani-

fest incompetence or gross misconduct, the extreme measure of removal from office be resorted to. It is incumbent on them to take care that, in our political relations with foreign powers, justice and moderation are uniformly observed, that the discipline and general efficiency of the army are maintained, and that in the business of internal administration, the welfare of the native population is sedulously consulted. It is obligatory on them narrowly to scrutinize and control the public expenditure, to keep a watchful eye over all their servants, to see that distinguished merit is adequately encouraged and rewarded, that the undeserving are not promoted by favour, and that evil doers are not improperly shielded from the punishment due to delinquency. It is also within their province to convey to the local governments such instructions as may from time to time be deemed expedient with a view to these or other objects, and to enforce obedience to their orders when transgressed or imperfectly executed without valid reason.'

Your answer went in the first instance to show the existence of a control and vigilant scrutiny exercised by the home authorities over the patronage of the Governor-general in India, and which control you consider would cease to exist in the event of the substitution of some other public organ for the Court of Directors at home; and you have instanced this by the care that is taken to ascertain the character and qualifications of individuals selected to be members of councils in India; are not the members of council nominated at present by the Court of Directors, and not by the Governor-general? —What I wished to exemplify to the committee was, the minute knowledge that the Court of Directors possessed of all nominations made to India, of the progress of their servants, and of their appointment from one station to another, and of the duties they performed. At the present moment there is, I conceive, a check both on the part of the Board of Control and on the part of the Court of Directors in the exercise by the Governor-general of his patronage, which patronage is made by selecting civil servants according to their seniority, as prescribed by the Act of Parliament, unless there is any reason for a different course of proceeding; and whilst it is true

that the Governor-general selects from the military service military men for civil stations, it is a practice objected to, and for which he is obliged to assign reasons. Unless some strict provision or check shall exist in future as now does exist, the Governor-general will of course be at liberty to exercise his patronage as he might see fit, without any control.

In point of fact, is it your belief that any real control is exercised over the appointments in India of the commissioners, judges of circuit, members of the courts of revenue, and of other Boards; in short, of the detail of the patronage in that country? —I conceive that the patronage in that country is carried on as prescribed in the manner I have already stated, by the regulations, and if there were not the check that now exists, which I conceive the Governor-general is perfectly aware of, he might exercise it to a large and imperious extent.

The government of the Anglo-Indian empire is one founded on an opinion arising out of our moral rectitude as well as physical force, and whatever weakens it, tends therefore to the diminution of our power in the East; in the preceding sketch may be perceived, the existence of present benefit, as well as future advantages, and the positive danger to both countries by rash and crude plans of fancied perfection being urged for adoption at this eventful crisis. Unlike European governments, the East India Company's administration has been in general in advance of the intelligence of the people; the increasing vigilant control of Parliament, the fast-growing influence of public opinion in England and in India, and the omnipotence of the press in both countries, will from time to time suggest, and enable the authorities to carry into effect, such improvements as may be safely, and with a prospect of permanent benefit enacted,

remembering always that governments are not like a forge nail, struck out at a single heat of the iron, but like the oak tree, which grows from year to year, while the more extended its age, the deeper and deeper become its roots. To the corporation of the East India Company, headed and directed by such statesmen as Wellesley, Clive, and Hastings, we are indebted for the acquisition and present progressive state of India, and to the adoption of sound and comprehensive measures, the good and the wise still look for the amelioration of Hindostan, and the preservation of the ministerial balance of power in Britain.

CHAPTER III.

THE FINANCIAL AND MONETARY SYSTEM OF BRITISH INDIA ; PRODUCE FOR SEVERAL YEARS OF THE OPIUM, SALT, AND LAND REVENUE ; DIFFERENT SYSTEMS OF LAND REVENUE, AND AGGREGATE TAXATION ; EXPENDITURE AND DEBT OF THE THREE PRESIDENCIES, WITH THE SURPLUS, OR DEFICIT REVENUE OF EACH SINCE 1814 ; THE BANK OF BENGAL ; INDIAN DEBT ; PROPORTION HELD BY EUROPEANS AND NATIVES, &c.

THE prosperity of a nation is materially dependent on a just system of finance, the leading principles of which are, that every individual shall contribute to the maintenance of a government in proportion to the property he possesses, in order to protect him from domestic tyranny or foreign aggression, and

that every individual contributing a quota shall have a voice in regulating its disbursement. As the comparative advantages of direct and indirect taxation are now deservedly engrossing a large share of public attention, and the financial system of Great Britain and of our possessions in India is materially different, it will be necessary to enter into some detail, in order that the Indian mode of finance may be more thoroughly understood and appreciated.

The history of most ancient states show that direct taxation, or in other words, taxation on property, has been the foundation and main stay of their revenue systems ; in England the principle has been progressively departed from since the reign of William III. until now, out of nearly 50,000,000*l.* taxes levied annually in the United Kingdom, almost 40,000,000*l.*¹ are raised on the consumption of the necessaries and comforts of life. In India the ancient system of direct taxation has not been changed, the land continuing, as it has been from time immemorial, the grand fund of supply to the government, as will be seen by the proportions of the Indian revenue derived from different sources in 1831-32, the latest year in which the returns have been laid before Parliament complete :—

¹ The volume which I have written on the ' Taxation of the British Empire' will show the effects of high taxes on articles of general consumption ; especially in connection with the contraction of the currency, which took place in 1819.

DIRECT TAXATION.

Land Revenue	£10,750,218
House Tax	40,000
Tax on Professions	116,830
Tolls on Ferries	96,242
Territories on Nerbudda	239,347
Burmese Cessions	87,266
Mysore, Travancore, and Cochin.	342,776
Nagpore Subsidiary	77,743
Bhurtpore	24,881
Nizams and Rajpoot Tribute	78,938
Cutch Subsidiary	13,332
Miscellaneous	17,996
	£11,885,560

INDIRECT TAXATION.

Salt Sale and Licences	£2,314,982
Customs (Sea and Land)	1,380,099
Opium	1,442,570
Post Office	103,501
Tobacco	63,048
Mint Receipts	60,518
Stamps	328,300
Judicial Fees and Fines	70,469
Sayer and Akkaree	764,759
Marine and Pilotage	45,974
Excise (in Calcutta)	19,106
	£6,593,326

Now, in making this division, I have given in the second column several items, which will detract from its amount when examined. The tax levied upon opium is paid indirectly, it is true, by the Chinamen who consume it in the celestial empire, but in reality

the tax falls on the land which grows the poppy, for were there no tax levied, the amount now paid by the Chinamen would go into the pockets of the Hindoo landed proprietors, thus we reduce the 6,600,000*l.* to 5,200,000*l.*; and when we consider how nearly salt, stamps, judicial, mint, and post-office receipts are direct taxes, the large proportion of the latter will be apparent. The gross revenues of the Three Presidencies during the fifteen years, ending 1828-29, were as follows :—

Bengal, 196,121,983*l.*; Madras, 82,042,967*l.*; Bombay, 30,986,970*l.*—Total, 309,151,920*l.*

Revenue and Charges of British India for 1831-2.—(Latest account.*)

GROSS REVENUE.

Items.	Bengal.	Madras.	Bombay.	Total in sterling money.
Land-tax	Sa. Rups. 62588291	Rupees. 30519174	Rupees. 13394717	£ 10750218
Custom, town, and transit dues	6527911	4853086	4044678	1380099
Salt sale tax	19158084	3789438	202303	2314982
Opium sale	12256637	...	2169063	1442570
Stamp duties	2466864	417863	398279	328300
Post-office ditto	634771	279020	121220	103501
Mint duties	426354	12879	165948	60518
Marine and pilotage	282538	66259	110951	45974
Tobacco sale .....	...	630489	...	63048
House-tax (Madras and Bombay) {	284256	} 110991	...	58631
Excise ditto	191067		...	
Judicial fees and fine	468777	139745	96168	70469

(Continued.)

* I have prepared this table from the accounts laid before Parliament in May, 1834, in order to show, in a connected view, the sources of revenue in British India, and the mode in which it is expended. The table being prepared from different returns, I should state that the Bengal revenue is in sicca rupees, being in the proportion of 100 to 106½ of the Madras and Bombay rupees: in the total column I have converted the whole into sterling at 2·7 rupees, which is nearly the bullion value and rate of exchange of the coin.

Items.	Bengal.	Madras.	Bombay.	Total in sterling money.
	Sa. Rups.	Rupees.	Rupees.	£
Toll on ferries	962424	...	...	96242
Sayer and abkaree	4153890	2022176	1471525	764759
Civil, miscellaneous	385006	7166	17872	41004
Revenue, ditto	1205735	183904	...	138963
Moturphra or profession tax.....	...	1168308	...	116830
Ceded territory on Nerbuddah	2393478	...	...	239347
Ditto by the Burmese	872660	...	...	87266
Nagpore subsidy.....	777437	...	...	77743
Nizam's and Rajpoot tribute	789388	...	...	78938
Bhurtapore on account of war	248811	...	...	24881
Mysore, Travancore, and Cochin } subsidies .....	...	3427769	...	342776
Ditto, from Cutch government .....	...	...	133333	13332
Penang, Mal. and Singapore	375615	...	...	37561
Total in rupees.....	118449994	47628276	22326057	18677952

CHARGES (in India only).

Collecting land-tax sayer and ab- karee	8706175	4472283	2263095	1544155
Ditto customs	1144055	409721	254166	180794
Ditto salt (including French and } Danish supplies).....	4887186	741604	...	562879
Opium	2790018	...	26537	281655
Stamp duties	474982	80306	154835	71012
Post-office ditto	781156	259429	136660	117724
Mint ditto	280598	116687	129171	52645
Marine and pilot establishment.....	1376032	162302	1485711	302404
Tobacco ditto .....	...	233092	...	23093
Military charges.....	33500430	25275721	14246512	7302266
Ditto buildings	813352	136570	191430	114135
Civil and political establishments ...	7981801	2953754	3022058	1395761
Sudder, provincial and zillah courts	7623026	2013448	1799595	1143606
Queen's supreme court, &c.....	793736	486278	449407	172942
Provincial police	2023773	651273	...	267504
Buildings, roads, &c.....	1135529	106407	248823	149075
Nerbuddah territory charges	741154	...	...	74115
Burmese ceded ditto.....	870523	...	...	87053
Penang, Mal. and Singapore	612946	...	...	61294
Interest on debt	17825682	2015523	234941	2007614
Pensions, assignments, and allows.	5706742	6310310	4697914	1671406
Total charges	100068876	46424708	29340855	17583132
Surplus revenues	18381118	1203568	...	
Deficient ditto.....	...	...	7014798	

LAND REVENUE OF INDIA.—The land-tax of British India is entitled to priority of consideration, no less on account of its financial importance as to amount, than of its influence over the rights and interests of the native inhabitants of the country, and over the general prosperity of the empire. There are three different modes of assessing land in India, and as each has its advocates and are essentially different in operation, the fairest plan which the author can adopt in laying a detail of them before the public, will be to give a very brief abstract of the evidence on the subject as laid before Parliament, during the recent discussion on the renewal of the East India Company's Charter; thus no favour to any system will be shown, and the public will be better enabled to form a comparative judgment on their respective merits¹.

PRINCIPLES OF THE LAND-TAX.—Three different modes of assessing the land-tax prevail in British India—Ist, a *perpetual* settlement with the proprietors of the land;—2nd, a *temporary* settlement with the heads of villages or townships; and 3rd, a definite settlement with each individual occupant or cultivator of the soil (1832, C. P. 2²), but the acknowledged basis of every land revenue settlement in India, is the right of a government to a certain share of the gross produce of every inch of cultivated land; the share may be alienated entirely or partially, or it may be diminished by grants from

¹ The source whence each paragraph is derived verbatim, is also given; I have only added copulative conjunctions or articles for the purpose of 'dovetailing,' as it were, the sentiments scattered through a vast mass of evidence.

² C. P. in Commons' Paper; Lords' is signified by L.; the figure refers to the number of the paper or question.

government : it may be commuted for a money payment under engagements more or less extended for a series of years, or even for perpetuity, but the ground works of the land revenue in India, is the right of government to a share of the gross produce of all cultivation (1832, C. P. 29). Land is assessed with reference to the payments of former years, and to the actual state of the cultivation, and of the season ; if the cultivation have been increased the revenue is increased ; if land have been thrown up it is diminished ; if it be a bad season allowances are made for it (1830, L. 2,285) ; and in case of complaint of over-assessment it is rectified (1830, L. 1,565), as it is well understood that nothing contributes so essentially to secure the public tranquillity as a low assessment (1831, C. 5,250).

The peculiarity of India in deriving a large proportion of its revenue from the land, is in fact a very great advantage ; nine-tenths probably of the revenue of the government is derived from the rent of land never appropriated to individuals, and always considered to have been the property of government : this is one of the most fortunate circumstances that can occur in any country, because in consequence of this the wants of the state are supplied really and truly without taxation : the wants of government are supplied without any drain, either upon the produce of the man's labour, or the produce of any man's capital (1831, C. 3,134). But the great difficulty in raising a revenue from the land in India, is the difficulty of ascertaining correctly the value of the land ; approximation is all that can be obtained (1831, C. 3,162) ; the general proportion taken is extremely uncertain (1830, L. 2,537) ; because no portion of the gross produce of the land can ever be taken as the standard for assessment, for various proportions of the gross produce go as rent, according to all the various qualities of the soil, some lands yielding no rent, others a fourth, others a third, and other portions of the soil of a still more valuable quality, yielding half or more than half of the gross produce as rent (1831, C. 3,886) ; that is, a surplus of the produce of the soil after a full remuneration to the cultivator for his labour and stock (do. 3884). The instruction for many years sent from

home, and impressed upon the governments of India is, that in no case can more be taken than the rent of the land, without both injustice and permanent injury to the country, not only injury to the individual cultivators, but injury to the government itself; and in all doubtful cases, the instruction has been to take special care to err on the side of lenity rather than on the side of severity; to take less than the rent rather than more (1831, C. 3,162).

The consent of government is not required for the cultivation of any new land; government are happy that people should come and take up their abode; they make no inquiry, if there be no objection made by the neighbouring villagers; that is to say, that they do not occupy the land that others are in the possession of; the right of possession remaining, unless disturbed by other claimants, which rarely or never occurs (1830, L. 542 and 543).

THE ZEMINDARY OR PERPETUAL SETTLEMENT OF LORD CORNWALLIS.—One of the most material points for consideration, in respect to the land-tax, is the different modes of levying the assessment now in force (1832, C. R. P. 2). To begin with the *Zemindary* Settlement, the most obvious feature of advantage in which is the facility of collection, as it is a much more simple thing to obtain the revenue of a large district from a certain moderate number of *Zemindars* or contributors, than it is to perform the collection in detail by the officers of government themselves, and another advantage undoubtedly is the greater degree of certainty in the result (1831, C. 3,339); the main difference in the mode of collecting the land revenue in different parts of British India, consisting chiefly in the different degrees of summariness, or detail adopted in the collection of the revenue, from the great mass of cultivators who hold land generally in small portions, and who have a right to the perpetual hereditary occupancy of the soil, so long as they continue to pay the revenue demanded by government.

When the East India Company came into possession of the revenues of the Dewanny of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, they found the land revenue collected in the most summary method

by the intervention of officers under the Mahomedan government, who had charge of districts sometimes of more, sometimes of less extent, with various titles, such as Zemindars, and Talookdars, and who paid the revenue into the treasury in one sum, for which they were rewarded by the government, generally, with a per centage on their collections: in fact, Zemindars were found managing considerable districts whose obligations consisted in paying a certain annual amount to the government; many of them held their districts or estates under this condition hereditarily. (1831, C. 3,114, 3,115, 3,215).

On the East India Company becoming possessed of the Bengal territory, great abuses were found to prevail, and to be practised by the different sorts of people employed in the collection of the revenue. The detail of the business was so great that it frightened Lord Cornwallis and the government of the day, and they conceived that no better method for the protection of the Ryots or small cultivators could be invented than to create a species of landlords, from whom they expected much benefit to arise. The ground upon which their reasoning principally went was this, that those Zemindars, having a permanent interest in the land assigned to them, would feel an interest in the prosperity of the Ryots, in the same manner as a landlord in England feels an interest in the prosperity of his tenants. This was expected to produce two good effects, to create a landed aristocracy in the country, and above all to afford protection to the Ryots or small cultivators, from the kind of paternal feeling that was expected to pervade the Zemindars (1831, C. 3,136). With a view to the protection of the whole mass of the agricultural population, and with the best of motives, the Zemindars in 1793, whether cultivators or officers in actual charge of districts, hereditarily or by special appointment, were created landholders of the country, by which a property in the soil was vested in them, in nearly as full a sense as it is to the holder of a fee-simple in England; the sum which a Zemindar had been in the habit of paying was ascertained by the observation of a few prior years, the assessment or tax was fixed for ever, and an engagement was made that this amount of land re-

venue should never be raised on him ; such is the nature of the settlement known by the name of ' the ZEMINDARY or PERMANENT SETTLEMENT' (1831, C. 3115, 3116, 3136, 3215 ; 1832, R. C. P. 21). The countries settled on the permanent Zemindary tenure include, under the Bengal presidency, an extent of 149,782 square miles, embracing the whole of Bengal, Bahar, Benares, and Orissa (Cuttack alone excepted), with a population, exclusive of the Benares province, of 35,518,645, assessed in 1829-30 at a permanent jumma, or revenue of 32,470,858 sicca rupees. Under the Madras presidency, the Zemindary settlement includes nearly the whole of the five northern circars lying immediately adjacent to the Bengal frontier ; rather more than one-third of the Salem, and about one-third of the Chingleput districts included under the head of Madura ; and a small portion of the southern division of Arcot, consisting of some of the East India Company's ancient lands near Cuddalore : these countries include a territory of 49,607 square miles, with a population of 3,941,021, assessed in 1829-30 at 8,511,009 sicca rupees. The permanent, or Zemindary settlement, has never extended to any portion of the provinces under the Bombay presidency, which contain 59,438 square miles, with a population estimated at 6,251,546, and 5500 square miles in the northern Concan, of which the population is unknown. Far the greater part of the Madras territories, to the extent of 92,316 square miles, with a population of 9,567,514, has also been exempted from it ; as has also been the case in the province of Cuttack, under the Bengal Government, containing 9040 square miles, and a population of 1,984,620 ; neither has the permanent settlement been extended to the upper or western provinces under the supreme government, embracing 66,510 square miles, and a population of 32,206,806 ; nor to the districts ceded on the Nerbudda, and by the Rajah of Berar, in 1826, containing 85,700 square miles, of which the population is unknown : thus of the British territorial possessions on the continent of Asia, including an area of 512,878 square miles, the permanent or Zemindary settlement extends over but 199,389 square miles (1832, R. C. P. 21). We may now proceed to the consideration of the VILLAGE SYSTEM.

VILLAGE LAND REVENUE SYSTEM.—The landed property in Upper India may be said to belong to the community of a village, each village having head men, leaders, or principals, called *Mocuddims*, or *Potails*, who either by descent, or sometimes by their personal influence, obtain a superiority in the village, and the management of its affairs ; they are selected by the villagers, and removable at their pleasure.

The lands are let out to men sometimes in the same village, sometimes in the neighbouring village, while certain portions, and certain rights are possessed by the different craftsmen or artizans of the village, such as the schoolmaster, the washerman, the barber, the carpenter, the blacksmith, the watchman, the village accountant, &c., who have each a right to a certain share in the produce of the soil, of which there is also a certain portion set aside for certain recognised expenses of the village, and for defraying its hospitality towards strangers (1830, L. 398, 399, 405, 406, 529). These village communities are little republics, having nearly every thing that they want within themselves, and almost independent of any foreign relations. Dynasty after dynasty tumbles down, revolution succeeds to revolution, Hindoo, Patan, Mogul, Mahratta, Seik, English, are all masters in turn, but the village communities remain the same. In times of trouble they arm and fortify themselves ; an hostile army passes through the country ; the village communities collect their cattle within their walls, and let the enemy pass unprovoked. If plunder and devastation be directed against themselves, and the force employed be irresistible, they flee to friendly villages at a distance ; but when the storm has passed over, they return and resume their occupations. If a country remain for a series of years the scene of continued pillage and massacre, so that the village cannot be inhabited, the scattered villagers nevertheless return whenever the power of peaceable possession revives : a generation may pass away, but the succeeding generation will return ; the sons will take the place of their fathers, the same site for the village, the same position for the houses, the same lands will be occupied by the descendants of those who were driven out when the village was depopulated, and it is not a trifling matter that will

drive them out, for they will often maintain their post through times of disturbance and convulsion, and acquire strength sufficient to resist pillage and oppression with success. This union of the village communities, each one forming a separate little state in itself, has contributed more than any other cause to the preservation of the people of India, through all the revolutions and changes which they have suffered, and is in a high degree conducive to their happiness, and to the enjoyment of a great proportion of freedom and independence (1832, Commons' Rev. Committee, p. 29).

It is difficult to state the proportion of the produce of the village paid to Government; the authorities know little of the precise property of any of the proprietors; it is not the interest or the wish of the village that the Government should scrutinize and know their possessions; therefore, if any one of the brotherhood fails to pay his proportion, that is a matter for the village at large to settle; they will often come forward to pay it for him, but those are all private arrangements kept to themselves, and the mocuddim has no power from the Government to enforce the assessment; what each man in the village has to pay is an internal arrangement, which it is desirable for the Government not to interfere in, the villagers settling among themselves what each has to pay, the total assessment being calculated after inquiry into the state of prosperity in the village; what it has hitherto paid; what it is capable of paying; the state of the village lands, and what assessments they ought to bear with reference to the produce; and if the villagers are dissatisfied with their mocuddim, or head man, they turn him out (1830, L. 401, 402, 404, 528, 583, 584). Surveys of considerable expense have been made by Government, a minute account taken of the state of the land in each village, the fields examined in the presence of a surveying officer, with all the assistance he can procure, not only from his own servants, but from the village communities, the people themselves interested, and also the ryots and people of the neighbouring villages, who are invited to attend. The exact limits of the village are put down, and even the detail of land within the village, the productions, houses, fruit-bearing trees, and so on: the assessment

is grounded upon these particulars (1831, C. 3492). The Upper or Western Provinces of Bengal, the greater part of the Bombay territories, the ceded territories on the Nerbuddah and the province of Tanjore are all assessed by villages (1831, C. 3119, 3123, 3129, 3130).

THE RYOTWAR SYSTEM.—The peculiar principle of the third sort of assessment, termed *Ryotwar*, is to fix a maximum of assessment upon all the lands of the country in perpetuity (1831, C. 4565). The money rent of each individual cultivator for the fields in his occupation is defined with as much permanency as possible, the aggregate of such rents making the total assessment, which varies each year with the increase or decrease of cultivation. Another main principle of the ryotwar system is to protect the rights of all ryots or cultivators, as they now exist in every village, from infringement, and to prevent all encroachment upon those rights (1831, C. 5156). Thus, in the ryotwar system, the details of the interest of the respective ryots are known completely, and not at all in the zemindary system; and the former effectually does what the latter professes to do, but never has done, and never can do, that is, fix an assessment upon all the lands in the country. Under the ryotwar system, the assessment goes from detail to the aggregate; it respects property of every class, that of the largest landholder, and that of the smallest; it measures and assesses every portion of an estate, and thus facilitates the transfer of landed property, as the first question, when taken into the market is, what is the amount of public demand upon the land? (1831, C. 4565, 4567, 4568). The ryotwar system deals with the proprietor; if the Rajah be the complete proprietor, he is the person with whom the Government deals; it does not profess to interfere between him and his tenants, but in order to ascertain what the Rajah is to pay, his lands are first assessed in detail, and then in the aggregate (1831, C. 4570). The ryotwar settlement is applicable, it is said, in every state of things; where there are proprietors it may be entered into with proprietors; where there are no proprietors it may be concluded with farmers or cultivators; it may be equally made for the largest or for the smallest quantity of land; for millions

of acres, or for only a few. The owner of a single field may make his terms directly with the Government, and turn to his cultivation, knowing that he cannot be called on to pay more than a certain sum. The proprietor of the largest district may do the same; for, although the cess under this system varies according to the value of the land, difference of soil, population, situation, and other localities, and although inferior land, paying the lower cess, becomes liable when sufficiently improved to pay the higher cess, there is, nevertheless, a maximum for the best land, beyond which all produce is for the benefit of the landholder, and there are remissions in cases of urgent distress (1832, C. R. P. No. 29.)

Another advantage which the ryotwar system possesses over the zemindary, is in the creation of a great body of independent proprietors, instead of a few who are proprietors only in name; and there is an advantage to the revenue inasmuch as all the fruits of industry accumulate for the great mass of the people, but in the case of the zemindary they accumulate for the benefit of the few, while the ryotwar system tends also in a considerable degree to the accumulation of capital (1831, C. 4577, 4578, 4579).

Each of these systems (as detailed in the analysis of the evidence before Parliament just given) find special and powerful advocates and arguments for the adoption of uniformity throughout India; but into this question it is not the author's province to enter; suffice it to say that the main points for consideration in any system of land assessment is the *low amount of the tax*¹, and the preservation of the manorial rights

¹ A Parliamentary document gives the amount of the land-tax per head in Bengal, in 1827, at 22 pence yearly, in Madras 52 pence, and in Bombay 60 pence; and per square mile, Bengal 23 pence, Madras 17 pence, and Bombay 19 pence; the population per square mile in each presidency being, for Bengal 244, Madras 77, and Bombay 76. Land in Bengal is valued at 67 years' purchase.

of the ryots or cultivators. Adam Smith admits that a land-tax so managed as to give not only no discouragement, but, on the contrary, some encouragement to the improvement of land ; which rises and falls with general not partial prosperity ; that makes it the paramount benefit of the government to preserve peace foreign and domestic ; to augment by every possible means the quality and quantity of territorial produce : to provide easy, cheap, and expeditious transit by land and water to the most profitable markets ;—a land-tax thus managed, pressing fairly and lightly on each individual, and influenced by fixed and comprehensive principles of general utility, most beneficially unites the governed and the governor by the least dissoluble ties of mutual self-interest.

By Lord Cornwallis's permanent settlement in Lower Bengal much good was effected, accompanied, however, with no small portion of evil. The *fixing for ever* the assessment on the land was admirable in principle and highly beneficial to the proprietors, but the government lost the advantage of increased prosperity in the country in consequence of the tax being fixed at a *money* instead of a *corn* rent : had the latter been adopted the tenant could not complain, and the resources of the state would not have suffered. The next evil arose from considering the zemindars as landed proprietors instead of what they generally were, mere collectors or farmers of the revenue : the interests and rights of the ryots or cultivating tenants of the soil were thus entirely lost sight of, and no measure has since been devised which would restore them without the allegation being raised of our in-

fringing the solemn compact of the permanent or zemindary settlement.

With reference to extending the system of the last named settlements to the upper provinces of Bengal, it seems neither prudent nor practicable so to do on account of the village corporations or communities described at p. 120-1.

This much, however, might be accomplished,—the fixing of the government assessment every ten, twenty, or thirty years, at a corn rent. The settlements might be made with each village, leaving to the latter the choice of a longer or shorter lease. This plan might also be extended to the south of India, where the ryotwar system is in force; its advantages would be, that a stimulus would be given to cultivation and improvement for ten, twenty, or thirty years without the government, like the tithe owner in England, stepping forth to reap the reward of skill and industry. The assessment being at a corn rent, the government would not have a revenue fluctuating according to the rise or fall in the prices of gold or silver, and the rights of individual cultivators, as under the Madras presidency, or of village communities, as under the Bombay territories, would be preserved, while the necessity for annual scrutiny and continual vexatious interference of the government with the farmers would be happily annulled.

Land Revenue in British India, at five intervals, to show its progress.

LAND REVENUES.	1789-90.	1799-1800.	1809-1810.	1819-1820.	1829-1830*
<i>Bengal, Behar, and Orissa.</i>					
Revenues, current, S. Rs.	25606200	23967056	26082136	27199225	26635715
Balances Do.	967989	3182947	1145267	2271617	2949358
Not in Jumma Do.	119021	213569	39267	437171	437411
Miscellaneous Do.	142996	38422	84645	136059	860698
Total	26836206	26801994	27351275	30044072	30853182
<i>Bengal.</i>					
Revenues, current, S. Rs.	3624823	3253420	3744142	4380451	4485725
Balances Do.	394241	428287	127108	36058	334296
Not in Jumma Do.	...	45138	59271	39207	55401
Total	4019064	3736845	3930521	4455716	4875422
<i>Ceded and Conquered Provinces under Bengal.</i>					
Revenues, cur., Ceded provinces, S. Rs.	...	...	14027596	18223863	12612876
Do. Conquered do. Do.	...	...	9083338	11451287	15879989
Balances, Ceded do. Do.	...	...	1438854	722104	390807
Do. Conquered do. Do.	...	...	1070981	621800	916868
Not in Jumma, Ceded do. Do.	...	...	41503	184081	144712
Do. Conquered do. Do.	...	...	102941	137184	471730
Miscellaneous, Ceded do. Do.	...	...	46704	181216	76257
Do. Conquered do. Do.	...	...	217582	65738	84771
Total . . . .	...	...	26029499	31537273	30577919
<i>Ancient Possessions.</i>					
Revenues, current, Pagodas	1274477	1558812	1629562	1984857	1967513
Arrears of do. . . . Do.	299625	555788	501410	235024	182184
Total	1574102	2117600	2130972	2219881	2149697
<i>Ceded and Conquered Provinces.</i>					
Revenues, current, Pagodas	...	2025093	7593033	7121258	6519888
Arrears of do. . . . Do.	...	198658	598564	484965	422856
Total . . . .	...	2223751	8191597	7606223	6942744
<i>Bombay.—Ancient Possessions.</i>					
Revenues, current, Rupees	...	270465	396853	307043	1428249
<i>Ceded and Conquered Provinces.</i>					
Revenues, current, Rupees	...	1906304	3053010	13024793	12129050
Total . . . .	...	2176769	3449863	13331836	13557229

* For Bengal the return is 1828-1829.

SALT.—The next main item of revenue in Bengal is derived from the manufacture and sale of salt by government, the average annual produce of which is about 1,800,000*l.* a-year. It is in evidence before

Parliament that the people are abundantly supplied with salt, and the tax is less than four farthings a month on each individual. Efforts have been made to authorise the Cheshire salt-makers to furnish the Bengalese with salt. When the English Parliament remits or even lessens the duty levied on the Hindoo's sugar being imported into Great Britain, then the Hindoos may receive English salt. Upper Bengal is supplied with salt partly from the lower province, and partly from salt mines in Western India. Madras exports salt to Bengal, prepared by solar evaporation, in exchange for rice and other provisions, and Bombay makes salt enough for its own use. The revenue in Bombay and Madras is trifling in amount compared with Bengal, being in the latter about 300,000*l.*, and in the former not 20,000*l.* a-year. Mr. St. George Tucker, lately chairman of the East India Company, thus details the salt revenue for 1827, which he states to be a fair year for judging of the average revenue.

Population of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa, computed at ¹	.....	<u>30,000,000</u>
Quantity of salt consumed by this population, supplied from our sales, maunds	.....	<u>4,500,000</u>
Gross sale, at about 390 rupees per 100 maunds.....	S. rupees	<u>17,500,000</u>
Deduct cost and charges, which constitute no part of the tax.....	.....	<u>5,000,000</u>
Net revenue or monopoly profit.....	rupees	<u>12,500,000</u>
At 2 <i>s.</i> per sicca rupee	£ sterl.	<u>1,250,000</u>
Medium consumption of each individual, per annum	6 seers = 12 lbs.	
Rate of contribution or poll-tax, yearly.....	.....	<u>10 pence</u>

The charges on the salt revenue amounted in Ben-

¹ It is now upwards of 40,000,000, which would, of course decrease the amount of the tax paid by each individual.

gal, in 1828, to S. R. 7,121,183, or 826,057*l.*, viz. advances to manufacturers, S. R. 4,291,768; convention with the French government to prevent any interference with the East India Company's revenue, 400,000; ditto with the Danish government, 15,000; salaries, commission to agents on manufacture, rent, establishments, and contingencies, 2,261,527; buildings, &c. 152,888. At Madras, the charge on the salt revenue for the same year was 85,495*l.*, or S. R. 752,021; of which the manufacturers' share was S. R. 250,542; the advances, 100,843; the compensations, 25,842; and Moyen Zabitah and other charges, 374,794.

OPIUM.—The revenue derived from opium, which is only second in importance to salt, is obtained in Bengal by government receiving the prepared juice direct from the cultivators, and offering it for sale at public auction to the exporter. No opium is allowed to be grown in Bengal but by the cultivators who are under engagements and advances with government; and in Bombay a transit duty is charged on the shipment of the drug to China, the opium being grown and prepared in allied states, Malwa, for instance. Under the head of commerce further particulars will be found; it is here sufficient to say, that the incidence of this tax is difficult of ascertainment: on first view it appears to fall on the consumers in China, or other foreigners in the east archipelago; but on a second view of the question, it is evident, that if the British government did not levy the tax, the Bengal producer of the opium would be at liberty to realize, if possible, the present price, and pocket

himself the difference which now goes into the Indian treasury. The charges in Bengal on the opium revenue for 1827-8, the latest year laid before Parliament, was 658,254*l.*, or S. R. 5,674,606; of which the manufacturers received in advance S. R. 3,879,974; and the salaries, agency establishments, and contingencies, were 726,024; and there was also a compensation to purchasers of inferior Bahar opium, in 1824-5 of S. R. 1,068,608. It may here be observed, that a chest or bale of the East India Company's opium is instantly purchased by a Chinese customer without any other examination than that of the Company's mark. The total number of chests of Indian opium imported into China (vide Commerce chapter) was in 1833, chests, 23,692, the value of which was Sp. dol. 15,352,429.

Customs, whether derived by transit or other duties on land, or from goods exported or imported by sea, form the next item, and are yearly increasing. The collection of *inland* or turnpike-like duties is in course of final abolition (in Bombay totally abrogated); and the duties levied on sea goods very light in amount, and unaccompanied by vexatious restrictions.

Stamps are an increasing source of revenue since their establishment in Bengal in 1797, and in Calcutta city in 1828. The instruments liable to the duty in Bengal are contracts, deeds, conveyances, leases, powers of attorney, policies of insurance, promissory notes, receipts, bail bonds, and legal proceedings generally; bills of exchange under twenty-five rupees, and receipts under fifty rupees, are alone exempt. In Madras stamped paper was first introduced in 1808,

chiefly on legal proceedings ; and in 1816 the duties were extended to bonds, deeds, leases, mortgages, bills of exchange, and receipts. In Bombay the tax was first introduced in 1815 ; Delhi and some other territories are not yet subjected to this duty, from the operation of which the small dealer and poor farmer is exempt, while the large capitalist or inveterate litigist is made to pay a portion of the government expenses, the most productive stamps in India being those on money dealing and miscellaneous law papers. The charge on stamps for 1827-8, was, in Bengal, 71,431*l.* or S. R. 615,782, viz. fees to native commissioners in Mofussil courts, S. R. 227,370 ; purchase of paper, 48,704 ; commission, salary, establishment, and contingency, 339,708 ; for Madras the total charge was 943*l.*

The *sayer* and *abkaree* taxes include a variety of items, in some places being irregular collections by provincial officers ; in others licenses on professions or on manufactures, such as the distillation of spirits, which latter is collected by a *still-head* duty, manufactured after the English fashion, at the rate of six annas, or six sixteenths of a rupee per gallon, London proof. There is a tobacco monopoly in some places, and extra cesses in others ; but these and other unstatesman-like sources of revenue are all in course of abolition.

The *Mint revenue* is collected by a seignorage for coining of two per cent. on the produce, after allowing for the difference of standard and deducting the charges of refining when such are chargeable ; that is, when the silver is below the dollar standard, which

is five or six times worse than the present rupee. Copper coinage also yields to the government a large profit, the copper money being issued at the rate of 64 (weighing 6400 grains) for the rupee, which is about 100 per cent. above the value of the copper. The charges on the mint revenue of Bengal was, in 1827, 43,838*l.* or S. R. 377,867, viz. salaries, establishments, and contingencies, 201,080; loss of weight in melting the precious metals, 176,787; for Madras, 20,406*l.*; and Bombay, 3637*l.*

The post-office tax is light in amount, and increasing as fast as can be expected from a post conveyed by runners on foot. The charges under this head of revenue were, for Bengal, salaries and establishments, S. R. 125,594; Dawk establishment, 642,293; total, S. R. 767,887, or 89,075*l.* Madras, salaries and establishments, &c. S. R. 64,973; Tappal establishment, 191,744; total, S. R. 256,717, or 29,339*l.* Bombay, 18,148*l.*

The charges for transmission of letters through the government post-offices of British India are—

In Bengal, a letter is forwarded 1000 miles for 12 annas, or 1*s.* 6*d.*; in Bombay, ditto 1000 ditto for 15 ditto, or 1*s.* 10*½d.*; in Madras, ditto 1000 ditto for 17 ditto or 2*s.* 1*½d.*

Judicial revenue is raised on stamps requisite in causes of different amount in order to defray legal charges and discourage litigation, to which the wealthier Hindoos are much prone. In suits for sums not exceeding 16 rupees, the plaint or petition must be written on paper bearing a stamp of 1 rupee. If the suit exceed 16 rupees, and do not exceed 32

rupees, a stamp of 2 rupees is required. Above 32 rupees, and not exceeding 64, the stamp is 4 rupees. Above 64 rupees, and not exceeding 150, 8 rupees. Above 150 rupees, and not exceeding 300, 16 rupees. Above 300 rupees, and not exceeding 800, 32 rupees. Above 800 rupees, and not exceeding 1600, 50 rupees. Above 1600 rupees, and not exceeding 3000, 100 rupees. Above 3000 rupees, and not exceeding 5000, 150 rupees. Above 5000 rupees, and not exceeding 10,000, 250 rupees. Above 10,000 rupees, and not exceeding 15,000, 350 rupees. Above 15,000 rupees, and not exceeding 25,000, 500 rupees. Above 25,000 rupees, and not exceeding 50,000, 750 rupees. Above 50,000 rupees, and not exceeding 100,000, 1000 rupees. Above 100,000 rupees, 2000 rupees. The other stamp duties to which the parties are subject, besides the institution stamp, are, all exhibits filed in court are required to be accompanied with an application praying the admission of the same, and that application must be written on stamped paper. If in the Zillah court, the stamp is one rupee; in the provincial court and the Sudder Dewanny Adawlut, two rupees. So also no summons is issued for the attendance of any witness without an application in writing, praying the attendance of such person, which application must be written on stamped paper, similar to that prescribed in the case of filing exhibits. Further answers, replications, rejoinders, supplemental pleadings, and all agreements of comprise and petitions, are required to be written on stamps of one rupee in the Zillah court, and four rupees in the provincial court in the Sudder Dewanny. Miscellaneous peti-

tions and applications preferred to public authorities, either revenue or judicial, are required to be written on stamps of eight annas, if preferred to a Zillah judge or magistrate or collector; of one rupee, if to a court of appeal or circuit, and of two rupees if to the Sudder Dewanny or Nizamut Adawlut, or to the board of revenue. The appointment of the vakeels to act in each case is made by an instrument bearing a similar stamp. Copies of decrees also are required to be stamped. In the Zillah court the stamp is one rupee, in the provincial court two rupees, in the Sudder four rupees, and all proceedings of the Sudder prepared for transmission to the Queen in council must be transcribed on paper bearing a stamp of two rupees. Copies of miscellaneous papers are required to be written on a stamp of eight annas, or half rupee.

The judicial charges are exceedingly heavy, viz. in Bengal, the Supreme Court, sicca rupees, 432,337; justices of the peace and diet of the prisoners at Calcutta, 251,693; Court of Requests, 98,605; Sudder Dewanny and Nizamut Adawlut, 638,869; provincial Courts of Appeal and Zillah Adawluts, 6,269,040; provincial Police, 1,789,377; extra and contingent charges, 370,318; Pensions, 38,455. Total sicca rupees, 98,991,694 or sterling 1,147,436*l*. In Madras, Supreme Court, sicca rupees, 308,700; Police charges in town of Madras, 133,040; Court of Sudder and Fouzdayy Adawlut, 253,557; Provincial Courts, 2,597,490; Pensions, &c. 7,342. Total, sicca rupees, 3,300,129 or 377,158*l*. In Bombay, Supreme Court, sicca rupees, 368,400; Police charges

at Bombay Presidency, 127,540; Court of Sudder and Fouzdar Adawlut, 262,891; Provincial Courts, 1,939,774; Buildings, &c. 76,701. Total, sicca rupees, 2,775,306, or 312,222*l.* The grand total for the three presidencies being 1,186,816*l.* sterling.

The Marine revenue arises from port and anchorage dues, &c. in order to keep up the useful establishments at Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay, in particular at the former port.

The foregoing items are the principal, if not the sole, sources of the government revenue of 18 to 20,000,000*l.* a year, and they offer a strong contrast to the manner in which 50,000,000*l.* a year is raised in Great Britain chiefly on the necessities of life, or on the comforts and industry of the people.

MONETARY SYSTEM.—The bank of Bengal, (the only chartered bank in our Eastern possessions) established in 1809, by a charter from the Governor-General in council, under Act of Parliament, is partly a private, partly a government bank, regulated as a bank of discounts and deposits, on the principle of the Bank of England, and confined in its accounts and transactions to Calcutta. The shares are in value 1000*l.* each, and in number 500; the government hold 100, with power to nominate three directors, while the proprietors elect six; the president is elected by the directors, and the proprietors can vote by proxy. Natives may become directors if chosen by the proprietors. The average amount of dividend of late years has been nine to ten per cent., and the shares were worth 5,500 to 5,600 rupees premium. The accounts are public, and regularly laid before

government twice a year, and of a *paid-up* capital of 5,000,000 rupees, part is vested in government securities, and the remainder employed in the trade of banking. It issues notes which vary in amount from ten rupees to 20,000 rupees, there being no maximum or minimum limitation. The largest proportion is in notes of 100 rupees upwards : the average amount of its paper in circulation is 800,000*l.* which is all payable on demand at sight. The notes circulate among the natives as far as Bahar, or wherever they are received in the government treasuries in receipt for revenue, &c. There are two restrictions upon the issue of paper money, the first practical, namely a reservation of cash equivalent to a fourth of its engagements payable on demand, and the second, that the circulation of notes shall not exceed 2,000,000*l.* but there has scarcely ever been a demand for notes to half that extent. The bank of Bengal has no monopoly, it is however the only chartered bank, *i. e.* it is a corporation, can sue and be sued under its common seal, and individual proprietors are not liable beyond the amount of their subscription ; its other exclusive advantage consists in government receiving its notes solely. I would here again strenuously urge the formation of an Anglo-Indian Bank, on a plan similar to the Provincial Bank of Ireland, as established by my able and philanthropic friend William Medley, Esq. The following is the latest return shewing the balance of the bank of Bengal, 29th June, 1833 :—

Dr.	S. Rups.	Cr.	S. Rups.
Cash, government securities, loans on deposits of govern- ment securities, &c., and bills on government dis- counted		Bank notes and post bills out- standing and claims payable on demand	12105443
Private bills discounted	12595498	Net stock	5248066
Doubtful debts	3918569		
Advance for legal proceed- ings	719158		
Dead stock.....	3235		
	117029		
Total.....	17353509	Total.....	17353509

Rates of business, on this date 6 per cent. for pri-
vate bill discounts, and 4 per cent. for deposit loan ;
on the 12th March, 1836, the rate of interest was 5
per cent. on loans of government paper,—discount on
government bills and salary 4 per cent., discount on
private bills, 7 per cent. The bank issues are twelve
million rupees,—a sum more than 50 per cent. in
excess of the minimum of 1827, in which year the
whole amount of bank notes, including those of the
three private banks then in existence, was not greater
than the present joint circulation of the bank of
Bengal and the Union bank. The bank has lost con-
siderably by bad debts and by forgeries, at which
latter the natives are extremely expert. There is an
establishment termed the UNION BANK at Calcutta
which I took an active part in conjunction with the
liberal Dwarkanaut Tagore in forming ; it is sup-
ported by the principal merchants, and quite uncon-
nected with government. The shares are now worth
600 to 700 rupees premium. Madras has no bank
precisely similar to that of Bengal, and Bombay has
not, I believe, any European bank issuing money.

There can now scarcely be said to be any gold coin in circulation in Bengal, and the highest silver denomination is rupees, viz. those of Calcutta and Furruckabad. The Furruckabad rupee weighs 180·234 grains, troy; Calcutta rupee 191·916 grains, troy. For practical purposes the Calcutta rupee may be valued as weighing 192 grains, troy, with 176 of silver, and the Furruckabad 180 grains, with 165 of pure metal. The Madras rupee, as established in 1818, consists of 180 grains, and contains 165 grains of pure silver, and 15 grains of alloy. The gold coinage is of the same weight and fineness as the silver, but the ratio between gold and silver is liable to be varied from time to time by government proclamation. Bengal, Madras, and Bombay have each a mint, at which are coined rupees agreeing in standard and weight with the Furruckabad rupees, and the rupees of the three presidencies are issued to the army at a nominal value, termed a Sonaut rupee. The gold coins that issued from the mint can scarcely be reckoned among the currencies, because the market value of gold having risen considerably above the mint value, it has ceased to circulate at the prescribed, or at any fixed rate. The gold mohur of Bengal weighs 204·710 grains, of which the fine gold is 187·651 grains; the Madras gold rupee is of the same weight and standard with the silver, viz. 180 grains; and at both presidencies the relative value of gold to silver is fifteen to one, the Bengal mohur being reckoned equal to sixteen rupees. A copper coin, weighing 100 grains is current through the Bengal territories at the rate of sixty-four to

seven rupees, but it is a legal tender only for the fractional parts of the rupee ; cowries or sea shells still circulate, and to a considerable extent in some provinces, but they are disappearing with the prosperity of the country.

A new copper coinage was declared by legislative enactment at Fort William, 22nd December 1835, consisting of a *pie* weighing $33\frac{1}{4}$ grains troy, and nearly corresponding to the piece of five cash or one pice of the Madras currency ;—a *pice* weighing 100 grains troy, about $1\frac{1}{2}$ doodee ; fifteen cash or $\frac{1}{4}$ anna ;—a double *pice* weighing 200 grains troy, thirty cash three doodies or half an anna. It is provided by the same enactment, that “ no copper coin shall be a legal tender in any part of the Company’s territories except for the fractional part of a rupee.”

A large mint has been established at Bombay for an uniform coinage, as there are a great number of different rupees current in the Deckhan, coined in different years, and having a marketable value, according to their value. The rates of exchange vary not only between Bombay and Poonah, but between district and district. Gold is not current in the Deckhan ; there is no paper circulation ; but native ‘ *hoondees*,’ or small bills of exchange, are numerous. The circulating medium is silver and copper, the relative value altering in favour of the latter ; all their gold has been exported to England years ago. Ordinary interest of money with the natives, nine, and with the European mercantile houses, five per cent. At Calcutta from six to twelve per cent.

The total coinage of the four mints (Calcutta, Be-

nares, Furruckabad, and Sagur) for the period of thirty-one years, has been 53,322,600. The bullion importation *via* Calcutta, from 1813-14 to 1831-32 is valued at sicca rupees, 355,837,644; from which, deducting the exports of bullion for the same period, 65,396,544, leave bullion disposed of in the country, sicca rupees, 295,446,100. The coinage of the several mints for the above term of eighteen years was—Calcutta, sicca rupees, 203,615,962; Benares, sicca rupees, 81,236,359; Furruckabad, 47,252,843; Sagur, 4,324,779. Making a total of sicca rupees, 343,522,940, being an excess of one-fifth above the imports, or sicca rupees, 53,076,840. The coinage of the native mints is estimated at one half of our own, which will give a total of 30,293,578, or three crores per annum for the Bengal presidency, being 150,000 per diem for 200 working days.

The total coinage of copper pice since 1801, bears a value in silver of $50\frac{1}{2}$ lakhs of sicca rupees, which in tale is $32\frac{1}{3}$ crores for thirty-one years—or one crore per annum; thus adding 50,000 pieces to the daily work as above mentioned.

By a financial regulation of the Bengal government (13th May, 1833,) it is enacted that, the weight and standard of the Calcutta sicca rupee and its subdivisions, and of the Furruckabad rupee, shall be as follows:—

	Weight. Grains.	Fine. Grains.	Alloy. Grains.
Calcutta Sicca Rupee.....	192.....	176.....	16
Ditto half.....	96.....	88.....	8
Ditto quarter	48.....	44.....	4
Furruckabad Rupee	180.....	165.....	15

and its fractions in proportion being 1-12th alloy.

The use of the sicca weight of 179.666 grains hitherto employed for the receipt of bullion at the Mint, being in fact the weight of the Moorshedabad rupee of the old standard, which was assumed as the sicca currency of the Honourable Company's provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, shall be discontinued, and in its place the following unit, to be called the tola, shall be introduced, which from its immediate connexion with the rupee of the Upper Provinces, and of the Madras and Bombay, will easily and speedily become universal throughout the British territories.

The tola or sicca weight to be equal to 180 grains troy, and the other denominations of weight to be derived from this unit, according to the following scale :—

8 Ruttees—1 Musha—15 Troy grains.

12 Mushas—1 Tola—180 ditto.

80 Tolas (or sicca weight)—1 seer— $2\frac{1}{2}$ lbs. ditto.

40 Seers—1 Mun, or Bazar Maund—100 lbs. Troy.

At Calcutta the monies of account are as follows :

Four cowries¹—1 gunda—16 annas—1 sicca rupee (20 gundas—1 punn—4 punns—1 anna) 16 sicca rupees—1 gold mohur. The usual accounts are 4 punns or 12 pice=1 anna—16 annas=1 sicca rupee—16 S. sicca rupees=1 gold mohur.

At Madras there is a considerable variety of coins in circulation ; accounts are kept thus 80 cash=1 fanam ; 12 fanams=1 rupee, and 42 fanams=1 pa-

¹ Cowries are a small shell, plentiful on Eastern shores, particularly those of Africa ; they are, however, fast disappearing from commercial transactions at the presidencies.

goda, star or current pagoda worth 7s. $5\frac{1}{2}d.$, commonly valued at 8s. The gold rupee, new coinage, 1l. 9s. $2\frac{1}{2}d.$, according to the mint price of gold in England. Arcot rupee (silver) and new ditto, 1s. $11\frac{1}{4}d.$ and 1s. $11\frac{1}{2}d.$ Copper pieces coined in England of 20 cash, called pice, and of 10 and 5 cash, called dodees and half dodees, are also current.

Bombay rupee divided into four quarters, each quarter being 100 reas; there are two reas in an urdee, four in a doogany or single pice, six reas in a doreea, eight reas in a fuddea or double pice, fifty pice or sixteen annas in the rupee, five rupees in a paunchca, and fifteen rupees in a gold mohur. The annas and reas are imaginary coins; the double and single pice, the urdee and the doreea, are copper coins, with a mixture of tin and lead; the others are the gold mohur and silver rupee, with their divisions. The following is the assay and sterling value of the principal gold and silver coinage of Calcutta and Bombay.

		Gross Weight.	Pure Metal.	Sterling Value.
		Grs.	Grs.	£ s. d.
Calcutta	Gold Mohur.....	204.710	187.651	1 13 2 2.25
	Sicca Rupees	191.916	175.923	0 2 0 6.25
	Furrackabad.....	180.234	165.215	0 1 11 8.25
Bombay	Gold Mohur	179.0	164.68	1 9 0
	Silver Rupee	179.0	164.68	0 2 0
Madras...	Rupee	180.0	165.0	

A new bank has been established at Agra, and savings' banks are to be set on foot under the sanction and superintendence of government; and I would

urgently recommend attention to Mr. Howell's plan for an Indian bank in London.

For a long period the flow of the precious metals was towards India; the current has now, however, changed, and the exportations from India to Europe of gold and silver has been yearly augmenting. For a complete view of the importations and exportations of bullion at each presidency see Appendix.

The treasure held in the several treasuries of the Company, under the Bengal presidency amounts generally to 3,000,000*l.*, and under the subordinate presidencies of Madras and Bombay, the amount fluctuates from 2,000,000*l.* to 3,000,000*l.* sterling. Before the breaking out of the Burmese war, from 10,000,000*l.* to 12,000,000*l.* sterling, was collected by the Marquis of Hastings in Bengal, for the purpose of paying off the debt. The accumulation of such large balances in the hands of government has justly been objected to, as causing sudden and excessive fluctuations in the currency of the country. The amount of remittances from India to England is very great; being, first, the sum requisite to pay territorial charges in England, about 3,000,000*l.*; second, a demand for remittance of private savings and family expenses, estimated at 1,500,000*l.*; and third, a return for the outward trade, 3,000,000*l.*: total, 7,500,000*l.*¹

¹ The annual drain on India in remittances to England on account of government, is thought by Mr. Mills, of the Auditor-general's department, to average 3,000,000*l.* a year for the last thirty years, I have in the second large edition shewn what this sum amounts to at compound interest for that period.

These returns are made through the commerce of India and China, or of bullion from both countries.

The territorial charges of India, payable in England, consist of payments on account of passage of military (68,000*l.*), pay to officers, including off reckonings, (120,000*l.*) ; political freight and demurrage, (134,000*l.*) ; war office demand for Queen's troops serving in India, (220,000*l.*) ; retiring pay, pensions, &c. to Queen's troops, (60,000*l.*) ; political charges general (including the political charge for the establishments at the India House, 100,000*l.*) ; the Board of Control, (30,000*l.*) ; Haileybury, Addiscombe, (22,000*l.*) ; Chatham and recruiting, &c. (44,000*l.*) ; miscellaneous expenses on account of Prince of Wales Island, Singapore, &c. (140,000*l.*) ; charges of the Tanjore Commission, (4000*l.*) ; absentee allowance, &c. to civil service, (30,000*l.*) ; territorial stores, (500,000*l.*) ; St. Helena charges (now terminating) (120,000*l.*) ; Lord Clive's fund, (33,000*l.*) ; political annuitants and pensioners, (58,000*l.*) , &c. &c.

A brief view of the Indian debt will next be requisite. In the early period of British connexion with India, the territorial revenues of the country probably aided commerce, in the latter period commerce undoubtedly aided territory, and for fifteen years the presidencies of Madras and Bombay have had an annual deficit of the sum requisite to meet political charges. The Indian government was therefore obliged to have recourse to borrow a sufficiency to meet the deficit which the commercial profits of the tea trade failed to supply; and the terri-

torial debt of India was, at four different periods, thus—

Years.	Debt at Interest.*	Floating Ditto.†	Total.
1792	£7129934	£2012786	£9142720
1809	2708931	3722810	30812441
1814	26970786	3948844	30919620
1829	39377880	7874494	47255374
1833	35500000	9300000	44800000

* Principally composed of the loans and treasury notes.
 † Not bearing interest, and consisting for the greater part of arrears of salaries and allowances due to civil officers; of pay due to the military, who in Bengal are kept two months in arrear always, and of deposits.

Of this Indian debt that of Bengal is the principal, the fixed or registered debt of which, with the relative proportion held by Europeans and natives was, in 1830 and in 1833—

Date of Loan.	Sicca Rupees. Held by Europeans.		Sicca Rupees. By Natives.		Total. Sicca Rupees.
	1830.	1833.	1830.	1833.	
Six per cent. Loan 1822	70343500	70494500	4366700	4244200	7471200
Five ditto 31st March 1823	70987800	47854100	20639700	14207900	91627500
Five ditto of 1825-6	53274800	62679800	40879500	25955300	94154300
Five ditto of 1829-30	1951700	7196000	701300	9773000	2653000
Four ditto of 1824-5	313000	322100	586200	899500	899200
Four ditto of 1828-9	663600	287400	584100	244200	1247700
Four ditto 1st May 1832	15961700	..	12048300	..
Total	197434400	204795600	67759500	67372400	205293900
					272168000

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Of the first or six per cent. remittable loan, the principal when repaid, is demandable in bills on England at the rate of 2*s.* 6*d.* the sicca rupee, the interest being intermediately payable half yearly, either in cash in India, or if the proprietors reside in Europe, and demand it in that form, by bills at the rate of 2*s.* 1*d.* Of the whole interest of the Indian debt, 927,000*l.* is subject to the option of having the interest payable in England, and in 1830 the sum of 450,000*l.* was actually demanded in England : the average rate of interest was six per cent. in 1814, and five per cent. in 1828. The other loans, both principal and interest, are demandable only in India ; but to the holders of the second (five per cent. of 1823) an option was given of receiving their interest, (which is payable half yearly), in bills at the rate of 2*s.* 1*d.*, (subsequently reduced to 1*s.* 11*d.*) during the pleasure of the home authorities : the third and fourth loans have the interest thereon paid quarterly to all holders wheresoever resident, either in cash or in bills, at the rate of 2*s.*, during the pleasure of the home authorities. The five per cent. loan of 1823 is repayable only by annual instalments of one and half crore of rupees ; the notes first entered in the register having the advantage of being least liable to discharge. The whole debt is now fully recognized by the legislature, and the remittable loan paper bears a premium in the Indian market of from thirty to forty per cent., and consists solely of the debt of 1822, viz. 74,738,700 rupees.

The following is a detailed comparative statement of the Indian debt in 1809 and in 1827 :—

Debt in Sicca Rupees on the 30th April, 1809.

	10 per Cent.	9 per Cent.	8 per Cent.	6 per Cent.	Total of Debt at Interest.	Debt not at Interest.	Total of Debt.
Bengal	8584500	..	169159028	2424065	180167593	23034123	203201716
Madras	2968285	..	51480766	5046834	59515885	5147124	64663009
Bombay.....	797036	2325169	2977696	166341	33064242	3627834	36692076
	12369821	2325169	250415490	7637240	272747720	31809081	304556811
Deduct Sinking Fund	..	..	29617500	..	29417500	..	26417500
	12369821	2325169	220997990	7637240	243330220	31809081	275139301
Interest	1236982	209265	1767939	458234	Total	19584320	

Debt, S. Rupees, 30th April, 1827.

	10 per Cent.	8 per Cent.	6 per Cent.	5 per Cent.	4 per Cent.	2 and 3½ Pice per Diem.	Total.
Bengal	20607	93492482	168964720	2357400	10700	264845909	
Madras .....	...	25623810	1112932	197898	...	27286364	
Bombay .....	...	2376028	...	1160450	...	5405756	
	20607	2021002	121692320	170977652	3713748	10700	297538029
Interest	2060	161680	7301538	8503882	148630	500	16118290

	Debt at Interest 30th April, 1827.	Debt not bearing Interest, 30th April.	Total bearing and not bearing.
Bengal	264845909	86866994	351712903
Madras	27286364	8386464	35672828
Bombay	5405756	487298	10279054
	297538029	100126756	897684785

Public Debt, bearing Interest outstanding at the several
Presidencies on the 30th April, 1832.

Registered Debt.	Debts.	Rate of Interest.	Annual amount of Interest.
Bengal—			
Loans Sicca Rupees	86359092	6 per cent.	5181546
Do. do.	202481699	5 ditto.	10124085
Do. do.	13584179	4 ditto.	543367
	302424970		15848998
Loan transferred from Fort Marborgh, do.	18505	10 ditto.	1850
Treasury notes do.	4928600	Various.	243720
Civil and military funds do....	9155802	6 & 8 per cent.	610618
Miscellaneous deposits do.	194396	6 ditto.	11604
Total, S. R.	316722273		16716850
Madras—			
Carnatic fund, rupees.....	23990057	5 per cent.	1199503
Loans, &c. do.	1273861	6 & 4 ditto.	69091
Civil and military funds do.	6660330	8, 6, & 4 ditto.	489165
Miscellaneous deposits do.....	366259	8, 6, & 5 ditto.	25086
Total, rupees	32290507		1782845
In sicca rupees	30319725		1674033
Bombay—			
Civil and military funds, rps.	5034638	8 & 6 per cent.	347169
Miscellaneous deposits do.....	1635083	6 & 4 ditto.	71802
Rupees	6669721		418971
In sicca rupees.....	6262649		393400
Grand total	353304647		18784283
In sterling	£35330465		£1878428

The debts of India in 1833 were as follow:—Debts bearing interest—Bengal, about 32,000,000*l.*; Madras 3,000,000*l.*; Bombay, 630,000*l.*; not bearing interest—Bengal, 8,000,000*l.*; Madras, 700,000*l.*; Bombay, 300,000*l.* The five per cent. loan is the

principal debt, it amounts, in Bengal to 18,000,000*l.*; and in Madras, to 2,500,000*l.*; in Bombay none. The treasury notes issued by the Bengal government amount to 700,000*l.*

The *home bond debt* of the East India Company, amounting to 3,400,000*l.* is composed of securities issued by the Company under their common seal, Parliament having authorized their borrowing money to a certain extent, and limiting its subsequent reduction to 3,000,000*l.*; the rate of interest paid in 1831 on this debt was two and a half per cent.

It only remains to be added, that by the new East India charter the Company's trade is placed in abeyance, and their whole assets, amounting to upwards of 21,000,000*l.* sterling, appropriated to the India territory, excepting 2,000,000*l.* to be invested as a sinking fund for the redemption of the capital stock of the East India Company proprietors (6,000,000*l.*) on the termination of forty years, at the rate of 5*l.* 5*s.* for every 100*l.* stock; the remainder of the assets, as soon as realized, is to be appropriated, after payment of pensions and other charges arising out of the new arrangement, towards the liquidation of the six per cent. remittable loan, which amounts to about 9,000,000*l.* sterling.

CHAPTER IV.

COMMERCE OF INDIA, &c.—STAPLES OF HINDOSTAN, AND SUGGESTIONS FOR THEIR IMPROVEMENT AND DEVELOPMENT.

THE commerce between Europe and India has ever been considered one of the most important subjects which could engage the attention of a mercantile statesman; and the fertile regions of the eastern hemisphere are now anxiously looked forward to as a rich field for the enjoyment of British capital, industry and skill; the result depends on the justice of England towards Hindostan. No two countries could be better adapted by Providence for the blessings of commerce than the parent (or governing) and dependent state; *the one* a small and insulated kingdom in the western ocean, teeming with a hardy, industrious and ingenious population, two-thirds of whom are engaged in manipulating and vending the produce of more genial climes; and from their numbers, compared with the area of habitation, pressing close on national subsistence, while peace and foreign competition are daily excluding them from the monopolized commerce heretofore possessed;—*the other* an almost illimitable territory in the eastern world, connected, though separated by the navigable ocean, rich to overflowing with every bounty with which nature has enriched the earth, and peculiarly so in those agricultural products necessary to the manufactures, comforts, and luxuries of the more civilized nation. Heretofore the incalculable blessings to be

derived from two countries thus favourably situate, have been wantonly or wickedly or inadvertently neglected; let me hope that a better era is now dawning for England as well as for India,—that the former has now begun to perceive the injustice and folly of beggaring the latter,—the temporary advantages of which are as nought compared with the permanent injury received as well as inflicted; and that the merciful dispensations of an all and ever-wise Being who has made the interchange of superfluous or indigenous commodities one of the most powerful instruments for exciting and sharpening the inventive industry of man, and uniting the whole human race in bonds of fraternal connection and Christian charity, will no longer be spurned with an apathy or impiety which sooner or later will receive its merited punishment.

STAPLES OF BRITISH INDIA.—The products of Hindostan are as various as they are valuable; I begin with one of its principal staples.

Indigo, from time immemorial, has been cultivated and manufactured in Hindostan, and in 1665 it was one of the exports from India to England; the East India Company's servants turned their attention to it about forty years ago, and its successful prosecution has been principally owing (after the circumstance of the destruction of St. Domingo, which, previous to its revolution, supplied nearly the whole world) to the small duty levied on its importation into England, the duty at first being little more than nominal: in 1812, $1\frac{1}{2}d.$ per lb.; in 1814, $2\frac{1}{2}d.$; and in 1832, 3d. per lb. Its importance to India may be judged of

from the fact that in the Bengal presidency the cultivation of indigo is carried on from Dacca to Delhi, occupying upwards of 1,000,000 statute acres, yielding an annual produce worth from 2,000,000*l.* to 3,000,000*l.* sterling, whereof one-half, or perhaps more, is expended in India for rent, stock, wages, interest on capital, &c. There are from three to four hundred factories in Bengal, chiefly in Jessore, Kishnagur and Tirhoot. The factories are principally held by Europeans, but many natives have factories of their own, and in several instances produce indigo equal to any manufactured by Europeans. The low price which indigo now brings in Europe is diminishing the quantity produced. the exportation some years being 9,000,000 lbs.; the recent failures in India will tend to bring the trade within more profitable limits. The cultivation of indigo in Madras is trifling,—there is little or none prepared in the Bombay presidency. The indigo produced annually in the East Indies from 1811 was :—

Years.	Chests.	Years.	Chests.	Years.	Chests.	Years.	Chests.
1811	21000	1816	25000	1821	21100	1826	28000
1812	23500	1817	20500	1822	25700	1827	45300
1813	22800	1818	19100	1823	29800	1828	30000
1814	28500	1819	20700	1824	24100	1829	43200
1815	30500	1820	27200	1825	43500	1830	32100

The price of indigo per chest in London was in 1824, 11*l.*; in 1825, 14*l.*; and in 1831 but 45*l.*; the supply now exceeds the demand, at least in Eng-

land ; but the consumption of Bengal indigo is fast augmenting in France, Holland, Germany, &c.

Silk forms the next most important staple of India, and in conjunction with the former, its production in our own territories is of essential advantage to silk and tabbinet manufacturers in England. The total quantity of raw silk imported into England for 1834 was 3,693,512 lbs. ; and the quantity furnished by British India alone to England in the same year was 1,203,658 lbs.

Three species of mulberry trees are cultivated in India, and two species of silk worm (the country worm, and the annular Italian, or Chinese worm) ; the latter feeds also on the castor oil plant leaf. The silk is produced in cocoons by the ryots or small cultivators, to whom the East India Company's agents make advances, and the Company have eleven or twelve filatures or large factories for reeling it with machinery on the simple Italian principle. The Gonatea is the best, the Bauleah the worst. The price of silk has risen in India with the wages of labour, and some manufacturers say the quality has deteriorated; probably *quantity* has been more attended to than quality. The silk districts of Bengal are, Radnagore, Hurripaul, Santipore, Cossimbuzar, Bauleah, Comercolly, Sardah, Jungypore, Mauldah, Rungpoor, Sunna-Meekhi and Gonnatea, all between the parallels of latitude 22° and 26°, and longitude 86° to 90°¹.

The superior quality of Italian silk does not de-

¹ The Company's factories are now, we believe, being sold to private speculators.

monstrate natural inferiority in that of India, for bales of East India to which attention has been paid have sold equally well with Italian silk. Efforts are now making in the Bombay presidency to extend the production of raw silk, and the commencement promises success; we may therefore look forward to a period when we shall be totally independent of every other country for the raw staple of this essential and beautiful branch of our national manufactures.

Cotton, a staple of Indian agriculture and of British manufactures, well deserve attention, were it only for the important circumstance that our chief branch of trade is almost totally dependent on a rival, (and with little provocation) perhaps a hostile state. The importation of American cotton into England is nearly 300,000,000 lbs. yearly, that of India not the one-twentieth part of British consumption. If we can be made independent of France and America for indigo and silk, so can we become also of cotton, India producing in itself every variety; the justly celebrated sea island cotton is actually in cultivation in several parts of India, but owing to neglect it degenerates into an annual, whereas in America it is carefully cultivated as a triennial plant. The Dacca muslins, so celebrated all over the globe, (and of which the manufacture is now lost, owing to the inundation of Manchester goods), were made from India cotton, and if the late duty had been kept on American raw cotton, sufficient encouragement would have been given to the Hindoos to attend to its cultivation; as it is we have not only ruined the Indian

manufacturer, but in return we have offered no encouragement to the raw producer.

As the surest means of inducing a more careful attention to India cotton, both in the cultivation¹, cleaning and packing, a removal of the entire duty on importation into England would be most effectual, coupled with an absence of all transit dues in the east.

OPIUM is the next important staple deserving consideration, the value of which will be most readily appreciated, by looking at the quantity annually exported from India to China for fifteen years.

Here we observe a trade in a prohibited article, (opium is smuggled into China) to the amount of upwards of 3,000,000*l.* a year, and which promises yet further increase!

The quantity of opium shipped from Calcutta in 1795-6, was 1070 chests, and in 1829-30, 7443 chests. The total quantity of opium exported from Calcutta during the former year was 5183 chests, and during the latter 9678 chests; the grand total exported during the whole thirty-five years, was 162,273 chests, which, at the average rate at which it sold, 1200 dollars a chest, would give a trade in this stimulating drug of nearly *two hundred million Spanish dollars!*

Malwa opium is considered by the Chinese as having a higher touch, but not so mellow, nor so pleasant in flavour as the Patna opium. The smokeable extract which each quality of opium contains is

¹ Indian cultivators of cotton would do well to remark that the cotton of Egypt is *sown in drills*, as is the custom in America.

thus intimated by the Chinese,—(who use opium as we do wine or spirits) Patna and Benares opium 45 to 50 touch; average 48; Malwa 70 to 75; average $72\frac{1}{2}$; Turkey 53 to 57; average touch 55. The cultivation of opium in India, as explained under the chapter in revenue, is a monopoly as regards Patna and Benares in the hands of government; and a revenue is derived from the Malwa opium by a system of passes on shipment from Bombay.

Sugar may be cultivated and manufactured to an extent in India sufficient to supply the whole world; its production at present is immense, as it forms an ingredient in almost every article of food or drink used by the Hindoos, and where the manufacture is attended to as at Benares, the grain is large and sparkling and pure as the best Mauritius or Demerara sugar. The soil and climate of Bengal, Madras, and Bombay are peculiarly suited to the production of this essential nourishment to man; every village has its patch of cane, and a rough manufacture named Jaghery is extracted from the Palmyra and cocoa-nut tree. It is in evidence before Parliament that the sugar-cane of Bengal is as good as any of the West Indies, and some of a superior quality has been produced.

The great secret of improving and extending the cultivation of sugar in India, is the reduction of the duty levied on it in England; the coarsest kinds of Bengal sugar now pay a tax in Great Britain of 120 per cent. on the gross price, which, after deducting freight and charges, is equal to 200 per cent. on the proceeds in England!

The small quantity of sugar which British India now sends to England, notwithstanding that in the former place it is exceeded only by rice in consumption, will be seen by the following recent return of sugar imported into the United Kingdom.

Year 1834.

British Plantation	3,844,243 cwts.
Foreign Plantation	202,030
Mauritius	555,860
East India British Possess.	76,617
— Foreign ditto..	64,663

The quantity of sugar consumed in the United Kingdom, averaged so high as 4,000,000 cwts. would for a population of 24,000,000 (leaving aside 1,000,000 for young infants, many of whom, however, also consume sugar) give only 18lbs. a year, or 5oz. a week, for each individual; now, it is well known, that a child of one year old would consume more than 5 oz. a week; that the workhouse allowance is frequently 34lbs. a year, and the lowest domestic servant, 1lb. a week, or 52lbs., a year. We might, therefore, fairly conclude that, if the duties on all our colonial sugars were reduced and placed on a level, the consumption and revenue would be thus increased :—

	Consumption.	Revenue.
West India Plantation Sugar .. Cwts. 4,000,000		
Tax at 1l. (now 1l. 4s.) per cwt.		£4,000,000
Mauritius Sugar.....	500,000	
Tax at 1l. (now 1l. 4s.) per cwt.		500,000
East India Possessions' Sugar	2,000,000	
Tax at 1l. (now 1l. 12s.) per cwt....		2,000,000
Foreign Sugar	500,000	
Tax at 2l. (now 3l. 3s.) per cwt.		1,000,000
 Total.. Cwts. 7,000,000		 £7,500,000

Here we observe that, even at the moderate rate of consumption of 32lbs. a year, or only 9 oz. per week, of sugar for each individual, the revenue would be augmented by 2,500,000*l.* and the commerce, health, and manufactures of the empire wonderfully increased.

There can even be no doubt, that if the duty were reduced to 12*s.* on West India, and to 16*s.* on East India sugars, similar favourable results would ensue ; for a few years (say two or three) the revenue would suffer, but a reduction and equalization to 20*s.* would instantly increase the revenue, while a prospect of eventual further diminution would prepare the way for greater national benefits.

Coffee next deserves consideration as an Indian staple, and which, like the last article, only requires just treatment in England to become one of the most valuable exports. In Malabar, Coimbatore, &c. the cultivation is extensive, and the berry of the finest flavour when attended to in the drying. Upper Bengal and the territories acquired from the Burmese are peculiarly adapted for the growth of coffee, and if the duty be reduced on it in England to 6*d.* while the West India is reduced to 4*d.*, the commerce of England and the morals of the people will be sensibly improved.

The following returns show the quantity of coffee imported from the East Indies into Great Britain,—re-exported and retained, for home use for fifteen years ; the return includes Ceylon, avg. 2,824,998 lbs. Singapore, 3,611,456 lbs. Mauritius, 26,646 lbs. &c. From Bengal, Madras, and Bombay alone for 1831—2,780,668 lbs.

**East India Coffee Imported into the United Kingdom
from 1820 to 1834.**

Years.	Imported.	Re-exported.	Home use.
	Lbs.	Lbs.	Lbs
1820	5497721	4307370	285945
1821	1904021	3526566	206177
1822	4487859	3599814	171717
1823	4114289	2129111	235697
1824	5760912	4718389	313513
1825	4513290	2678930	457745
1826	5520354	5670077	791570
1827	5872511	4655104	888198
1828	7380492	5084916	973410
1829	6335647	7474169	974576
1830	7066199	5187866	989585
1831	7691390	6525417	1234721
1832	10727026	9715234	1970635
1833	6218299	3996097	1801506
1834	9951141	6303562	1560098

It will be perceived by the foregoing that of late years the importation of East India coffee is on the increase; still there is a great defalcation compared with 1815 and 1816, when the importation of coffee by the private trade amounted in two years to 43,381,478 lbs!

Pepper is another valuable Indian staple, but its import from the East has considerably fallen off, the importations of 1815 and 1816 being 17,863,847lbs. and in 1827 and 1828 but 14,045,868 lbs., being a decrease of nearly 4,000,000 lbs. weight. The duty on it in England is still too high; a reduction of it would be beneficial to all classes.

Saltpetre is yielded by the Indian soil in greater abundance than any other country, its importation into England by the East India Company in 1814, was 146,000 cwt., but the continuance of peace has

much lessened both the price and consumption ; both are now again on the rise, but the price is still so low that the saltpetre collected in the East is now being brought to fertilize the fields of Albion. The import of late years of saltpetre from Bengal has been about 100,000 bags, but the total quantity exported from Calcutta has averaged 170,000 bags, while in the year 1795, it did not amount to more than 13,000 bags. The total quantity exported from Calcutta during the thirty-five years ending 1829, 1830, was 2,202,465 bags, of which the United Kingdom received 1,523,655 bags ; North America 278,895 bags ; France 101,237 bags, and China 133,615 bags. Quantities of nitrate of soda have recently been imported into England and France from South America, and the commodity is becoming an object of attention ; it is said not to answer so well as saltpetre (nitrate of potash) for making gunpowder, but to be equally applicable to the uses of most of the manufacturers and for the curers of provisions ; it is also stated to afford a greater proportion of nitric acid than saltpetre.

The tobacco of Masulipatam, made into snuff, is much prized in England ; the quantity of tobacco grown in India is enormous ; every class, high and low, use it, and if the duty were reduced in England, the variety of soils in India would afford an infinite variety of that fascinating weed for the British market. Very rich lands produce about 160 lbs. per acre of green leaf ; excellent Havannah tobacco is grown in Guzerat, Boglipoor, Bundlecund, &c., and some from the Irrawaddy territories has been reported by the

brokers in London as equal to the best American. The want of proper attention in the curing has been a great obstacle to its arriving in a marketable state in England after a long East Indian voyage. Tobacco, like hay, must undergo a heating to be fit for use, and the slightest particle of green vegetable matter left in the tobacco heats on the voyage, destroys the delicate flavour of the leaf, and even rots it. Experiments are now making at Bombay in the curing process¹.

Grain is one of the staples of Bengal; the total quantity of grain exported from Calcutta to countries beyond the three Presidencies amounted, during the thirty-five years, ending 1829-30, to 12,366,571 bags; for the latter years the export has been on the increase, averaging 600,000 bags a year, and of this quantity Mauritius has of late taken nearly one-half, for instance in 1828-29, 332,756 bags. Great Britain has received, during the whole thirty-five years, 1,730,998 bags; and the export to France is yearly increasing.

It would be tedious to particularize all the varied and valuable products of India, whether in reference to ginger, cardamoms, lacdyes, camphor, drugs, oils—essential and non-essential—timber, hemp, grain, &c. &c., all of which form important items in the trade of England; suffice it to say, that nature's choicest treasures are lavished in superabundance on the British possessions in Asia; and if man remains in

¹ The duty on East India tobacco might, without loss to the revenue, be reduced from 2s. 9d. to 2s. at least.

poverty and destitution, while the riches of the earth are at his feet, and require only to be gathered, he has no right to arraign the wisdom and beneficence of his Creator. When we reflect that there are the almost innumerable multitude of 100,000,000 British subjects ready and eager to receive our manufactures if we will only receive their produce, whether cotton, sugar, coffee, tobacco, saltpetre, &c., it seems almost insanity to think that we only carry on a commerce of 5,000,000*l.* value with such a vast, rich, and civilized territory. Under a just system the British Commerce with India ought to be 50,000,000*l.* a year, yielding employment, wealth, and happiness to myriads upon myriads of the human race, making the trackless ocean a connecting link instead of a separating boundary between both hemispheres, and giving unto maritime trade that steadiness and permanence which it is always void of when cramped and checked by fiscal laws and exactions.

CHAPTER V.

THE PRESS—EUROPEAN AND INDIAN—CIRCULATION OF THE JOURNALS—STATE OF EDUCATION AT BENGAL, MADRAS, AND BOMBAY—NUMBER OF COLLEGES—SCHOOLS AND PUPILS, &c.

THE PRESS.—The mighty engine which has effected such an extraordinary revolution among the inhabitants of the earth, and which by its powerful operation and almost unseen influence prevents any just parallel being drawn between ancient and modern nations, is being extended with sure and certain steps in British India, unshackled by stamp duties, undepressed by taxes on paper or on advertisements, and unimpeded by penalty bonds and securities, devoid of all censorship, and practically free for every legitimate purpose which a good citizen can require. The state of the press will be seen by the following authentic and official returns.

BENGAL.—In 1814, there existed but the Calcutta Government Gazette. In 1820, there were in addition to the foregoing, the Bengal Hurkaru, (Messenger) the Indian Gazette; the Calcutta Journal; and the Monthly Journal. The following was the return for the year 1830.

CALCUTTA PRESS (ENGLISH) DAILY, WEEKLY, &c. 165

- | | |
|--------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| 1. Calcutta Gov. Gazette. | 18. Columbian Press. |
| 2. Bengal Hurkaru. | 19. Bengal Chronicle. |
| 3. Indian Gazette. | 20. Oriental Observer. |
| 4. Calcutta Monthly Journal. | 21. Indian Magazine. |
| 5. John Bull. | 22. Literary Gazette. |
| 6. Asiatic Observer. | 23. Calcutta Chronicle. |
| 7. Quarterly Oriental Review. | 24. Gospel Investigator. |
| 8. B. Indian Mil. Repository. | 25. Commercial Chronicle. |
| 9. Unit. & Christ. Miscellany. | 26. Bengal Herald (4 lang.) |
| 10. Trifler. | 27. Calcutta Gazette. |
| 11. Oriental Mercury. | 28. Kaleidoscope. |
| 12. Calcutta Monthly Miscel. | 29. Calcutta Register. |
| 13. Bengal Directory. | 30. Mirror of the Press. |
| 14. Spy. | 31. Annual Keepsake. |
| 15. Bengal. | 32. Calcutta Magazine. |
| 16. Weekly Gleaner. | 33. Commercial Guide. |
| 17. Scotsman in the East. | |

By a recent calculation the following is the number and circulating state of the Calcutta press.

ENGLISH DAILY NEWSPAPERS.

<i>Political.</i>	<i>Commercial.</i>
Circulation.	Circulation.
Bengal Hurkaru	Exchange Gazette.....
India Gazette	Daily Advertiser
John Bull (now English-man)	Tulloh's Do.,
Calcutta Courier	Loll Bazar Do.
175	Unknown.

Three times a week.

Bengal Chronicle 208	{ all three }	Calcutta Courier	222
Indian Gazette.. 195	{ Political }		

Twice a week.

WEEKLY.

<i>Political.</i>	<i>Commercial.</i>
Circulation.	Circulation.
Bengal Herald	Commercial Price Current
Reformer	Calcutta Exchange Do. . .
Inquirer	Domestic retail Do.
Indian Registrar	Exports and Imports Do.
242	Unknown.
400	
200	
200	
<i>Official</i>	<i>Literary.</i>
Calcutta Gazette (Unknown.)	Calcutta Literary Gazette 338
	Oriental Observer 230

MONTHLY.

Bengal Registrar		Asiatic Society Journal..	200
Sporting Magazine	270	Calcutta Christian Observ.	380
Monthly Journal		E. I. United Serv. Journal	130

QUARTERLY.

Calcutta Quarterly Review	200	Quarterly Register	
Bengal Army List	250	———	(name unknown.)

ANNUAL VOLUMES.

Bengal Annual	350	Calcutta Directory	1200
Oriental Pearl		Bengal Do. & Almanack	1200
Bengal Souvenir			

Proportions of Classes who subscribe to the daily papers at Calcutta.

	Civil.	Military.	Medical.	Mercantile.	Legal.	Clerical.	Miscellaneous.	Gratis and Exchange.	Total.
Hurkaru and Chronicle	136	308	51	206	24	3	154	52	934
India Gazette.....	103	123	40	79	...	5	172	46	568
Calcutta Courier	69	122	15	121	...	11	4	55	397
John Bull (now Englishman)	104	81	9	—	13	14	60	25	306
Total	412	634	115	406	37	33	390	178	2205

In addition to the foregoing, several English newspapers and journals have been established in the provinces,—viz. the Meerut Observer, Meerut Universal Magazine ; Cawnpore Examiner, Cawnpore Omnibus, Cawnpore Free Press, Central India Free Press, the Delhi Gazette, the Agra Acbar ; the Mofussil Acbar, &c. &c.

Of the daily English newspapers, the Bengal Hurkaru may be taken as an example ; it is as large

as the London Morning Post, circulates now more than a thousand copies, has generally a page, if not more, of well paying advertisements, and its cost (independent of postage,) is twenty rupees a quarter¹.

The Bengal, or rather properly speaking, the Calcutta Native Press². was in—

1814, Nil.—1820, Nil.

In 1834.

Sumachur Durpun, (Bengallee with English, translations).

Bunga doot, or Bengal Herald, (Bengallee, Persian and Hindostanee). [Established by the Author.]

Britant Bauhak, (published at Bowanipoor) English and Bengallee.

Jami Jhan Numa, Persian ; Gyananneshun and Urmoobadika, Bengallee ; Sumachur Chundrika, do. ; Ooodunt Martund, ditto ; Sumbad Coomuddy, do. ; Rutnebulli, do. ; Subha Rajendra, Persian ; Shumsul Acbar, Bengallee ; Subha Rajendra, do. ; Sumbad Soodbaker, do. ; Sungbad Tumul Nausack, do. ; Sungbad Sarsungroho, Bengallee and English.

Of these papers some are published twice or thrice a week, (one, I believe daily) and the remainder weekly. Before leaving India, arrangements were put in progress by the Author for the establishment of a Scientific and Literary Monthly Magazine in the native languages.

¹ The Bengal postage of a newspaper if sent to any place within 500 miles is about 1½d., and from 500 to 1000 miles 3d.

² There are a great variety of Acbars or newspapers throughout the provinces, at the different courts, of which we do not know even the names.

It should be observed that two of the newspapers given in the English list, (the Reformer and Inquirer) are the property of and conducted by natives themselves with extraordinary ability. The general tone of the English press, as also that of the Native journals, is liberal, but some of the Bengalee newspapers are of a high orthodox nature; their prejudices are, however, ably met by their own countrymen in the Sungbad Coomuddy, (or Moon of Intelligence) and other Hindoo journals. The Reformer is, it is said, under the management of a distinguished, wealthy, and highly talented Hindoo, Prussunu Coomar Tagore. But to no individuals is the Indian press under greater obligations than to the late Rammohun Roy, and the munificent Dwarkanaut Tagore.

The Madras and Bombay press is less extensive than that of Bengal, and it has been shifting so much that we possess less accurate details of its actual state.

MADRAS.—English Periodicals—Gazette, Courier, Times, Standard, Conservative, Hurkaru, Advertizer, The Plain Man's Friendly Visitor, Carnatic Chronicle, Literary Gazette, The Seventh Day, Commercial Circular, Oriental Magazine, Army List, Register, Almanack, and the Mirat Ulkhbar in English and Hindostanee.

BOMBAY.—English Periodicals.—Gazette, Courier, Iris, Guide, Commercial Advertizer, Oriental Christian Spectator, Sporting Magazine, Price Current, Calendar, Registrar and Directory. Native Periodicals—Na Sumachur, Persian Huckba, Manibujeka Hurkaru, Chabrook Guzarattee, (Commercial Journal). One Newspaper is in Mahratta and English, one is

issued daily, and arrangements are in progress for publishing new papers at Bombay as well as at the other Presidencies.

As before observed, there is no stamp duty on the newspaper press of India, and it is but justice to add, that when the East India government recently and very properly extended the stamp laws from the Mofussil into Calcutta, they did not put any stamp on newspapers. The censorship throughout India has been finally abolished, and the enactments on establishing a new journal are—the name and residence of the proprietor, &c. to be registered, and the following regulation complied with—‘The editors of the newspapers or other periodical works in the English language are required to lodge one copy of every newspaper, regular or extra, and of every other periodical work published by them respectively, in the office of the chief secretary to the government; and the editors of newspapers, or other periodical works in the languages of the country, are in like manner required to lodge one copy of every newspaper or other periodical work published by them, in the office of the Persian secretary to the government. For these copies they receive payment at the usual rate paid by regular subscribers for such publications respectively.’

The number of printing offices in different parts of India is considerable, but they are difficult to enumerate, a great many of them being managed entirely by natives. The noble establishment of Mr. Samuel Smith, at Calcutta, is a fine specimen of how much may be accomplished by the spirit and talent of a

single individual: this gentleman's subscription library and reading rooms are more spacious, and enriched with a more numerous and valuable collection of books, &c. than any circulating library in this splendid metropolis; indeed, I may venture to say that it is superior to Ebers', Bull and Churton's, and Saunders' and Otley's combined. The library also of Messrs. Thacker and Co. is only inferior to Mr. Smith's in size, the collection of books being exceedingly valuable.

In the native as well as in the English journals, a free discussion of the measures of government takes place, and the improvements suggested by the press, or the complaints made through its columns, receive the ready attention of the government, which seeks or wishes for no disguise. If no injudicious effort be made to obtain premature circulation for any speculative journal, the press of India will become as useful to the rulers as to the ruled; and if kept free from licentiousness, and private malice or scandal, it will indeed be a boon and blessing to the natives of the eastern hemisphere¹, into every part of which, from Persia to China², it is now slowly but surely

¹ Lithography, so admirably suited for the Oriental characters, has come to the aid of its elder sister typography; there are several establishments in Calcutta; one at Cawnpoor even, and, I believe, one has recently been set up in Persia itself.

² There are two English newspapers, a monthly journal, and, I believe, a quarterly, and two annual periodicals published in China, at Canton and Macao!

finding a footing, and paving the way for the final dissolution of uncontrolled despotism.

EDUCATION.—Let us now turn to the important subject of education ; and although the proofs of its progress may not be so easy of demonstration as that of the public press, yet it would be unnatural to suppose that such distinguished Anglo-Indian literati as Verelst, Vansittart, Hastings, Orme, Halhed, Gladwin, Wilkins, Law, Paterson, Jones, Harrington, Wilford, Hunter, Colebrooke, Leyden, Scott, Baillie, Ross, Ellis, Franklin, Erskine, Roebuck, Lumsden, Gilchrist, Malcolm, Marsden, Elphinstone, Babington, Carey, Vans, Kennedy, Parker, Macnaghten, Marshman, Wilson, Herbert, Prinsep, Tod, Mackintosh, and a host of others whom it would be tedious to mention, would not make every possible exertion for the diffusion of that knowledge of which many were, and many still are, the richest possessors. It was stipulated at the last renewal of the charter, that 10,000*l.* should be annually devoted from the surplus territorial revenue of India, to the purpose of education ; by the following extract from a parliamentary return in 1832, it will be seen that the Company have doubled, and in some years trebled the amount laid down in the Act, although there was no surplus revenue in India :—

1824	£21,884	1828	£35,841
1825	66,563	1829	38,076
1826	27,412	1830	44,330
1827	45,313		

As an instance of the efforts making for the dif-

fusion of intelligence throughout the British dominions, I may quote the testimony before Parliament of the Honourable Holt Mackenzie, who states that since the renewal of the last charter, the Bengal government have established a college at Calcutta for the Hindoos, and reformed very much the old Moslem college ; that colleges have been established at Delhi and Agra, for both Hindoos and Moslems ; the Hindoo college at Benares has been reformed ; at the several institutions it has been the object of government to extend the study of the English language, and good books have been supplied, &c. ; that seminaries have been established in different parts of the country, and schools established by individuals have been aided by government¹. With respect to Bombay, Major-General Sir Lionel Smith, a veteran and distinguished Queen's officer, observes in his evidence before Parliament (6th Oct. 1831), ' Education is in such extensive progress, that I hardly think it could be more extended—education is also going on in the Deckan ; the encouragement given by government consists in a very liberal establishment, under the direction of an officer of very great attainments in the native languages, Captain Jarvis.'

¹ The Calcutta School Book Society, from 1824-25 up to the 30th April, 1833, printed 13,000 copies of twenty-four Sanscrit works ; 5,000 copies of seven Arabic works ; 2,500 ditto of five Persian authors ; 2,000 ditto of four Hindu ditto and several other works were then in the press. The printing charges of the Society for the foregoing period was 105,425 rupees.

For the army, also, the Company have established schools, and libraries have been sent out to India, for the use of the troops ; and it is in frequent evidence before Parliament, that great pains are taken with the native regimental seminaries. I might quote similar testimony with respect to Madras, but perhaps the best proof that I could adduce is the statement made by that indefatigable friend of India, Sir Alexander Johnson, in his late able report laid before the Royal Asiatic Society, namely, that in Madras, 'the proportion of the inhabitants who have been taught reading, writing, and the rudiments of arithmetic, in their own language, amount to one in five¹ !'

Now if we take the Madras population to be no better educated than that of Calcutta or Bombay, we shall actually have a higher range of education in India than in any other country on earth :—

Education in proportion to population.

In India . . .	1 scholar to every . . .	5 inhabitants.
England . . .	1 ditto	15 ditto
France . . .	1 ditto	17 ditto
United States .	1 ditto	11 ditto
Austria . . .	1 ditto	15 ditto
Prussia . . .	1 ditto	7 ditto
The Netherlands	1 ditto	9 ditto

¹ Sir Alexander also states, that the Board of Education at Madras have recently circulated an almanack, on similar principles to the British Almanack published here, among the native population of the Madras presidency, at the trifling expense of 48*l.*; and that the late Colonel Mackenzie received from the East India Company 10,000*l.* for his collections on the history of the Hindoos of the Southern Peninsula. The money paid by the East India Company for Dr. Morrison's Chinese Dictionary, was 12,000*l.* sterling !

PROGRESS OF EDUCATION IN BENGAL.—The Calcutta Madrissa, or Mahomedan College was founded in 1781, by Warren Hastings, who provided a building for it at his own expense, amounting to 57,745 rupees, but which was afterwards charged to the Company. The Bengal government also, at the recommendation of Mr. Hastings, assigned lands of the estimated value of 29,000 rupees per annum, for the support of the institution, to promote the study of the Arabic and Persian languages, and of the Mahomedan law, with a view, more especially, to the production of well qualified officers for the court of justice.

In 1791, the government of the college was placed in the hands of a Committee of Superintendence, consisting of the acting president of the Board of Revenue, the Persian translator to government, and the preparer of reports.

The students were divided into classes, and the following sciences to be taught ;—natural philosophy, theology, law, astronomy, geometry, arithmetic, logic, rhetoric, oratory, grammar.

Not more than two months' vacation allowed to the students in one year. Every Friday to be set apart for purifications and religious worship. The salaries of the preceptors and officers to be, head preceptor, 400 rupees per month; first assistant, 100; second ditto, 80; third ditto, 60; fourth ditto, 30.

Each student in the five classes to receive an allowance of fifteen, ten, eight, seven, or six rupees per month, according to his class. The number of students to be regulated by the committee, and all surplus funds to be employed in the purchase of books.

In a voluminous report in 1819, of a retrospective view of the resources and expenditure of the institution, the latter amounted, from the year 1794 to the year 1818, a period of twenty-five years, to the sum of 4,94,197 rupees : 30,000 rupees per annum, is now guaranteed to the college out of the public treasury, instead of the institution depending upon the uncertain produce of the lands which were originally granted to it as an endowment. The public examinations which take place every year demonstrate the progress of the college.

In 1827, the study of Arabic, Mahomedan law, and mathematics was extended, and a Medical Class instituted. The examinations were in Arabic, logic, rhetoric, philosophy, Euclid, arithmetic, algebra and medicine. In 1828 an English class was established ; skeletons and anatomical models and surgical works provided. All applications for law officers under government were to be accompanied by certificates from the college, and a preference given to those who had acquired the English language and produced testimonials of good conduct in the college. In 1830, number of students ninety-nine ; examined eighty-five.

Benares Hindoo Sanscrit College, established by Jonathan Duncan, Esq. the resident at Benares in 1791, as a means of employing, beneficially for the country, some part of a surplus which the public revenues yielded over their estimated amount. The expense for the first year was limited to 14,000 rupees. In the following year it was augmented to 20,000 rupees ; at which amount it has been con-

tinued down to the present time. The object of this institution was the preservation and cultivation of the laws, literature and religion of the Hindoos, (more particularly of their laws) in their sacred city; a measure which it was conceived would be equally advantageous to the natives, and honourable to the British government among them.

The establishment originally consisted of a head pundit or rector; eight professors; nine students who enjoyed salaries; with book-keepers, writers, peons, &c. The Governor-General was constituted visitor, and the resident his deputy. Besides the scholars on the foundation, and a certain number of poor children who were to receive instruction gratis, the institution was open to all persons who were willing to pay for instruction: the teachers and students to hold their places during the pleasure of the visitor. All the professors, except the professor of medicine, to be Brahmins. The Brahmins to have preference in succession to the office of rector, or to professorships. Four examinations in the year to be held before the resident. Each professor to compose annually for the use of his students, a lecture on his respective science. Examinations into the most sacred branches of knowledge to be made by a committee of Brahmins. Courses of study to be prepared by the professors. The internal discipline to be in all respects conformable to the Dherma Shastra, in the chapter on education.

The prescribed course of studies in this college to comprehend,—

Theology, ritual, medicine including botany, &c.

music, mechanic arts, grammar, prosody, and sacred lexicography, mathematics, metaphysics, logic, law, history, ethics, philosophy, and poetry.

The Calcutta Hindoo Sanscrit College, dates its establishment from 1821. For the support of this institution, the annual sum of 30,000 rupees has been allowed by government, and 1,20,000 rupees has also been allotted for the erection of a college. The establishment consists of fourteen pundits, a librarian and servants, 100 scholars on the foundation, and a secretary.

The sum of 1,200 rupees is reserved for distribution in prizes at the public examination, and a school for Hindoo children is connected with the college.

In 1823 the Bengal government formed a General Committee of Public Instruction at Calcutta, for the promoting of education and of the improvement of the morals of the natives of India.

The annual sum of one lac of rupees, which, by the 53 Geo. III., c. 155, was appropriated to the purposes of education was placed at their disposal. The schools at Chinsurah, Rajpootana, and Bhaugulpore, were placed under the control of this committee, and the separate grants which had been made to those schools, amounting together to 16,800 rupees per annum, were discontinued from the 1st January 1824.

The total amount placed at the disposal of the General Committee of Public Instruction in the years from 1821-22 to 1825-26 was, S. R. 4,78,400.

Agra College. In 1822, the Governor-General in council sanctioned the institution of a college at

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Agra ; the sum of 42,501 Rs. was for the erection of the college ; an expenditure of 15,420 Rs. authorised, and the number of students in the college was in 1826—117 ; 1827—210 ; in 1830—203 ; of whom 73 received stipendiary allowances.

Delhi College, similar to the foregoing by its adaptation to useful instruction. In 1827 the number of students was 204 ; in 1828—199 ; and in 1829—152 ; the reduction being owing to a discouragement of pecuniary or stipendiary grants to pupils.

Vidalaya or Anglo-Indian College. “ This highly interesting and promising institution,” it is stated, “ owes its origin to the intelligence and public spirit of some of the opulent native gentlemen of Calcutta, who associated together in 1816, and subscribed a capital sum of Rs. 1,13,179, to found a seminary for the instruction of the sons of Hindoos in the European and Asiatic languages and sciences.” It was placed under the superintendence of the General Committee, as the condition of pecuniary aid, to the amount of 300 rupees per month, for house-rent, afforded to it out of the Education Fund. This institution has a growing popularity, and decided superiority, on its present footing, over any other affording tuition to the natives in the English language ; a select library of books has been sent from England, and some additional philosophical apparatus. The number of scholars, all male, is stated at 200 ; “ and so long,” the committee add, “ as such a number, all respectably connected, can be trained in useful knowledge and the English language, a great improvement may be confidently anticipated in the

intellectual character of the principal inhabitants of Calcutta." In order to secure the continued attendance of the more promising pupils, and to enable them to complete their course of study, a limited number of scholarships has been endowed by the government. The number of pupils were in January 1826—196 ; in 1827—372 ; July 1826—280 ; 1828—437 (of whom 100 received gratuitous education.) The number is still on the increase.

English College. The government sanctioned the establishment of a distinct English college, for the admission of a certain number of the more advanced pupils from the Hindoo and Mahomedan colleges, for gratuitous instruction in literature and science, by means of the English language ; for which purpose the Education Fund could afford an income of Rs. 24,000 per annum.

The Bishop's College near Calcutta. A grant of land, of about twenty acres, was made by the government in India, for the purposes of the college, to which a farther grant has since been made. It stands about three miles below Calcutta, in a fine situation, on the opposite bank of the river Hooghly, which is there much wider than the Thames at London. "The spot is peculiarly favourable for privacy and retirement : and the scenery is such," Bishop Middleton observes, "as to gratify and soothe the mind."

The foundation stone of the college was laid, on 15th of December, 1820, by Bishop Middleton. The Incorporated Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, transmitted to Dr. Middle-

ton the sum of 5,000*l.* to enable him to commence the work; 5,000*l.* were contributed by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge; 5,000*l.* more were voted by the Church Missionary Society; and the British and Foreign Bible Society had added 5,000*l.* This sum of 20,000*l.* was augmented by collections in all the churches in England and Wales, in consequence of a "King's Letter," which amounted to 45,000*l.* with which the building has been completed.

The college consists of three piles of buildings, in the plain Gothic style. These buildings form three sides of a quadrangle; the fourth, or south side, being open to the river, which in that part flows nearly from east to west. The pile which fronts the river consists of the college chapel to the east, divided by a tower from the hall and library on the west. The buildings on the east and west sides of the quadrangle contain the apartments for a principal and two professors, with lecture rooms, and rooms for the students. The whole is formed on the plan of combining comfort and convenience with an elegant simplicity.

Bishop's College is under the immediate direction of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel; but the statutes are so framed as to afford opportunity both to the government in India and to the religious societies connected with the Church of England, of obtaining, under certain regulations, the benefits of the college for such students as they may place there.

For the regular supply of students, the Society for

the Propagation of the Gospel, has adopted the measure stated in the following extract from a late report :—“ Ten theological scholarships and ten lay scholarships have been formed by the society, for native or European youths educated in the principles of Christianity; and the sum of 1000*l.* per annum has been appropriated to this special purpose. The ordinary age of admission is fourteen.”

The Christian Knowledge Society assists in this plan of scholarship; having placed the sum of 6000*l.* at the disposal of the Gospel Propagation Society, for the purpose of endowing five scholarships, to be called in memory of the founder of the college, “ Bishop Middleton’s Scholarships.” This grant is also intended to provide a salary for a Tamul teacher in the college, that being the language chiefly used in the Society’s missions.

The Church Missionary Society voted a grant of 1000*l.* per annum for several years, on account of the importance of the institution, and of the co-operation it afforded in their department of labour in India.

In 1830, the directors of Bishop’s College had upwards of 50,000*l.* in the three and a half per cents., as a fund towards the support of that institution. There are upon that foundation a principal, two professors, eight missionaries, two catechists, and a printer.

The College Council consists of three professors, and attached to the college are four European missionaries.

The foregoing abstract of the colleges in Bengal is sufficient to convey an idea of the good intentions

of the government in furthering education. There are various primary and elementary schools, viz. at Chinsurali (where there are 1200 scholars); at Ajmeer (in which school there are 200 boys); Bogli-poore school (134 pupils); Cawnpore (75 scholars); Allahabad (50 scholars)¹; Dacca (25 schools and 1414 pupils); Mynpoory College, Etawah (40); Bareilly² (131 schools, 300 seminaries, with 3000 pupils); and an established college, with fifty students.

¹ It is proposed to establish an English College at Allahabad.

² In 1827, the local agents in Bareilly, reported that in the town of Bareilly there were 101 schools in which Persian was taught, and twenty in which the children of the Malinjims were taught accounts; besides which there were eleven persons who taught Arabic, and two who taught the science of medicine; that in the villages round about Bareilly there were nine Hindoo schools and thirteen Persian; and in other parts of the district 114 Persian and 111 Hindostanee schools.

'In these schools,' the local agents observe, 'science of any sort is rarely studied. Works in the Persian language, such as the Bostan, Golistan, Zalicka, Madhooram Aboolfuzul, Secundernameh, Tusha Kheeleefa, Bahardanisli, are read, with a view to facility in writing Persian; besides this, the scholars are instructed in the simplest rules of arithmetic. In the colleges, the works read are in the Arabic language. The course of study includes Surf, Neho, Mautick, Laws of Composition, Fikha, Kikmut, under which are included medicine, mathematics, and natural philosophy, the Buddus, and the explanations of the Koran; besides these, there are schools in which the children of Mahajans and those intended for putwarries are taught accounts; those who study the Hindoo sciences read the Vedas, the Shastres, the Poorans, Beakam Jotuh Chelum Naryul, Ojoosh Bed, Memansa, Neari. We have not

In Delhi district there are about 300 elementary schools, in several of which the preceptors receive no

heard that there are any establishments for such scholars in the villages.

' In the schools in which Persian is taught, the boys read manuscript copies of the different books, and learn to write on boards.

' Hindoos and Mussulmans have no scruples about reading together. The teachers are almost always Syeds, Sheiks, Moguls, Patans or Kaitas.

' The teachers are paid from three to seven rupees a month by the person at whose house they sit; they also get their meals twice a day, and surance, that is, a kubba, razaee, toshak and bolaposh. Kubba and razee are regularly given every year, whether the old one be worn out or not; the tushak and bolaposh are sometimes given, sometimes not. Summer clothing is also sometimes given, but rarely. Those who do not pay a teacher for attending at their own houses, send their children to the houses of those who entertain one, and pay the teacher from four annas to one rupee monthly, according to their means; besides this, the master gets other perquisites, such as 'jummajee' offerings, presented on Thursday evenings by each boy, from four gundahs to one and five annas; 'aghazee' offerings, presented on beginning a new book, from five annas to one and a half rupee; 'edic,' presented on holidays, from one anna to one rupee. The boys begin to study at six years of age sometimes, but seldom till twenty;¹ in the colleges, from fourteen to twenty-five, sometimes thirty, sometimes much less, it depending on the talents and inclinations of the students. Those who learn Persian, viz. boys till the age of fourteen and fifteen, never remain under the roof of the master; on the contrary, he generally attends at the house of

¹ It is thus in the official documents.

pay, but teach '*gratis in hope of Heaven.*' There are a great variety of other colleges and schools in Kidderpore, Burdwan, Moorshedabad, Hooghly, Nuddea, Rajishaye; Calcutta Benevolent schools (250 pupils of both sexes): Infant schools in various districts, under the committee of management at Calcutta; Sylhet, Chittagong, Beaspoor, &c. independent of regular schools, and private or missionary seminaries. The Missionary Societies maintain schools at their respective stations. The following are maintained by them under this presidency.

By the *London Society*.—At Calcutta, and out stations, Bengallee schools, for boys, 11; for girls, 4—15. At Chinsurah—Bengallee, for boys, 2. At Berhanpore—Bengallee, for boys, 1; for girls, 1—2. At Benares—Hindui, for boys, 4. By the *Baptist Society*.—At Calcutta, and out stations, for boys, 2; for girls, 22—24. At Cutwa, for girls, 4. At Sewry, for boys, 4; for girls, 4—8.

STATE OF EDUCATION AT MADRAS.—The reports in detail from this presidency are not numerous, but

some person or other, where he instructs the children of the master of the house, and those of others. Schools in which accounts are taught differ in no material respect from Persian ones. Those who teach Arabic have sometimes pupils who come from a distance residing under their roof; but those who live in the same town remain in their parents' house. It is considered improper to take any thing from Arabic students, unless from necessity. The schools in the towns are well attended in comparison with those of the villages; we have heard of no school supported by public grants.'

to compensate in some measure, we have a more complete return than from any of the other presidencies relative to the males and females at each school, distinguishing the Hindoo from the Mussulman scholars. This return is as follows :—

**State of education under the Madras presidency, distinguishing
Mussulman scholars, and the male from the female-**

Districts.	Schools and Colleges.	Hindoo Scholars.		
		Male.	Fem.	Total.
Ganjam	{ Schools..... 255 Colleges..... none	2938	12	2950
Vizagapatam	{ Schools..... 914 Colleges..... none	9315	303	9618
Rajahmundry ...	{ Schools..... 291 Colleges..... 279	2569	37	2606
Masulipatam	{ Schools..... 484 Colleges..... 49	4775	31	4806
Guntoor	{ Schools..... 574 Colleges..... none	7365	99	7464
Nellore	{ Schools..... 804 Colleges..... none	6946	55	7000
Bellary	{ Schools..... 533 Colleges..... none	6338	60	6398
Cuddapah	{ Schools..... 494 Colleges..... none	5551	107	5658
Chingleput	{ Schools..... 508 Colleges..... 51	6941	116	7057
Arcot, N. Division	{ Schools..... 630 Colleges..... 69	7140	41	7181
Arcot, S. Division	{ Schools..... 875 Colleges..... none	10167	104	10271
Salem	{ Schools..... 386 Colleges..... none	4160	31	4191
Tanjore	{ Schools..... 884 Colleges..... 109	16495	154	16649
Trichinopoly	{ Schools..... 790 Colleges..... 9	9501	none	9585
Madura	{ Schools..... 884 Colleges..... none	12592	105	12630
Tinnevelly	{ Schools..... 607 Colleges..... none	8462	115	8579
Coimbatore	{ Schools..... 673 Colleges..... 173	7812	82	7894
Canara	No statement of the number of schools.			
Malabar	{ Schools..... 759 Colleges..... 1	8767	1068	9835
Seringapatam	{ Schools..... 41 Colleges..... none	527	14	541
Madras	{ Schools..... 305 Charity ditto..... 17 Children receiving private tuition at home	4966	127	5093
	{ } 24756	404	49	453
	Total schools	12498	517	25273
	Total scholars	171776	3313	175089

the number of Colleges and Schools, the Hindoo from the pupils. (From the latest Government returns in 1826.)

Mussulman Scholars.			Total.		
Male.	Female.	Total.	Male.	Female.	Total.
27	none	27	2965	12	2977
...
97	none	97	9412	303	9715
...
52	none	52	2621	37	2658
...	...	...	1454	...	1454
none	...	...	5050	33	5083
275	2	277	199	none	199
...	...	...	7622	102	7724
257	3	260	...	...	...
...	...	...	7563	58	7621
617	3	620	...	...	...
...	...	...	6581	60	6641
243	none	243	...	...	...
...	...	...	5892	108	6000
341	1	342	...	...	...
...	...	...	7127	116	7243
186	none	186	...	...	...
...	...	...	7692	52	7744
552	11	563	...	...	...
...	...	...	10419	104	10523
252	none	252	...	...	...
...	...	...	4592	58	4650
432	27	459	...	...	...
...	...	...	17428	154	17582
933	none	933	769	none	769
...	...	...	10191	140	10331
none	56	746	...	...	...
690	none	...	131	...	131
...	none	...	13676	105	13781
1147	none	1147	...	...	...
...	...	...	9258	119	9377
796	2	798	...	...	...
...	...	...	8124	82	8206
312	none	312	724	...	724
...
none	...	...	...	...	...
3196	1122	4318	11963	2190	14153
...	...	none	75	none	75
none	...	...	613	14	627
86	none	86	...	...	...
...
143	none	143	5109	127	5236
10	...	10	414	49	463
...
1690	none	1690	26446	517	26963
...
12334	1227	13561	184110	4540	188650

A summary of the report states, that the schools are for the most part supported by the people who send their children to them for instruction, the rate of payment for each scholar varying in different districts, and, according to the circumstances of the parents of the pupils, viz. from one anna (three-half-pence) to four rupees (eight shillings) a month, the ordinary rate of the poorer classes being generally four annas, and seldom exceeding eight annas. There are endowed schools, or teachers, in the following districts :—

Rajamundry—sixty-nine teachers of the sciences, endowed with land, and thirteen receiving allowances in money.

Nellore—several Brahmins and Mussulmans, receiving 1467 rupees per annum for teaching the Vedas, Arabic, and Persian.

Arcot—twenty-eight colleges and six Persian schools.

Salem—twenty teachers of theology and one Mussulman school.

Tanjore—seventy colleges and forty-four schools, supported by his highness the Rajah.

Trichinopoly—seven schools.

Malabar—one college.

Endowments for purposes of education in other districts have unfortunately been appropriated to other purposes.

The Missionary Societies maintain the following schools under this presidency :—

The *London Society*.—At Madras, and out stations, Tamil, for boys, 14; girls, 2; boys and girls, 2—18.

At Tripassoor—Tamil, boys and girls, 2; English, boys and girls, 2—4. At Vizagapatam—Teloogoo, boys and girls, 11. At Cudapah—Teloogoo, boys and girls, 8. At Chittoor—Teloogoo and Tamil, for boys, 7; girls, 1—8. At Belgaum, and out stations, Mahratta and Tamil, for boys, 7; for girls, 1—8. At Bellary—Canarese and Tamil, for boys, 12; for girls, 1—13. At Bangalore, with out stations—Canarese, Mahratta, Teloogoo, and Tamil, for boys, with a few girls, 7. At Salem—Tamil, Teloogoo, and English, boys, 7. At Comboconum—Tamil, for boys, 12; for girls, 1—13. At Coimbattoor—Tamil for boys, 5. At Nagercoil, with out stations—Tamil for boys, 46; for girls, 4—50. At Neyoor, with out stations—Tamil, for boys, 50; for girls, 1—51. At Quilon—Malayalim, for boys, 14; for girls, 10—24. The *Wesleyan Missionary Society*,—At Madras, 14. At Bangalore, 6. At Negapatam and Melnattam, 8.

A committee of public instruction has been formed at Madras on the model of that of Bengal, and much good has already been effected by the same.

STATE OF EDUCATION AT BOMBAY.—The government of this presidency has not been behind hand in promoting the blessing of education. In July, 1828, a circular letter was issued to the several collectors under the Bombay government, calling upon them to report annually to the Foujdarry Adawlut the number of schools in their collectorates, the number of boys attending each, and the mode in which education was conducted, also the mode in which printed

tracts were sought after and disposed of. In October, 1829, these reports having been received, the registrar of the Adawlut was instructed to forward to the government a general report of the state of education in the provinces of the Bombay presidency, framed from the information conveyed in the statements of the several collectors, and suggesting the means which, in the opinion of the judges, were most likely to promote and improve the education of the natives of India.

First, by a gradual extension of schools on an improved principle, either by affording the patronage of government to native schoolmasters, on condition of their improving their system, or by the establishment of new schools in populous places at the expense of government: and,

Secondly, by the gratuitous distribution of useful books, such as 'books of arithmetic, short histories, moral tales, distinct from their own false legends, natural history, and some short voyages and travels.'

Periodical examinations the judges recommend to be held with caution, as likely to excite alarm, and when voluntarily submitted to by the schoolmasters, to be accompanied by liberal rewards to the scholars for proficiency, 'as showing the interest the government takes in the proceedings, and as a mode of encouragement which would seem upon common principles likely to be attended with a good result.'

This report is accompanied by the following
 'Statement of the Schools and Scholars in the different Collectorships.'

Native Education Society. The committee of this noble institution (voluntarily formed in 1815, and composed in nearly equal proportions of Europeans and natives) at a meeting, 12th April 1831, stated that its aggregate receipts and disbursements within the year amounted to between 70,000 and 80,000 rupees; that it has constantly on sale more than forty publications in the native languages, many of them the produce of the Bombay lithographic and other presses, of which former mode of printing favourable specimens are appended to the reports ; and that it has under its controul and management the several schools and establishments described in the following paragraphs.

In the central school 250 boys have been through a course of study in the English language ; fifty have left it with a competent knowledge of the language, consisting of an acquaintance with geography, mathematics, and geometry. In Bombay, the boys in the Mahratta school have amounted to 954, and in Guzerattee to 427. At present, there are altogether 56 of the Society's schools, each containing about 60 boys, amounting in the whole to 3000 boys under a course of education.

This report contains the following further particulars :

' Your committee observe that the boys who have made the greatest progress in the English schools are the Hindoos ; they are left longer in the schools by their parents than other boys, who, though equally intelligent and quick, are more irregular in their at-

tendance. Few or no Mahomedan boys ever enter the schools.'

In 1826, there were in the Society's school at Bombay, 367 boys, boarders, and 228 girls ditto ; and there were of day scholars 268 Christians, and 472 natives. In Surat school, three Christians and forty-eight natives, and the regular schools 183 pupils.

There is a Hindoo college at Poona, at which premiums are awarded to the most deserving students. An admirable Engineer College has been formed at Bombay, at which, according to the latest return, there were eighty-six students entertained and instructed.

Schools and Scholars at Bombay.

DISTRICTS.	Schools, Master paid by Government.	No. of Scholars.	Village Schools.	No. of Scholars.	Total Schools.	Total Scholars.
Deccan ...	Poona	5	266	304	4651	309
	Ahmednuggur	4	232	164	2906	168
	Candeish.....	2	59	112	1610	114
	Surat.....	2	96	188	4068	190
	Broach	2	75	24	967	26
Guzzerat	Kaira	2	157	82	3024	84
	Ahmedabad	3	127	88	3226	91
	Northern Concan.....	2	188	135	2490	137
Concan ...	Southern ditto	1	21	285	6700	282
	Darwar	2	94	302	4196	304
Total.....	25	1315	1680	33838	1705	35153

In May, 1830, the Education Society reported twenty-five schoolmasters, eleven Mahrattas, and fourteen Guzzeratees, ready to commence their duties as teachers in the various schools in the Deccan, in Guzzerat, and in the two Concans. They had acquired an accurate knowledge of their own languages, and were so far acquainted with the higher branches of the mathematics as to entitle them to be considered teachers of the second order. Stations were proposed for them by the Society, to which they were sent by the government¹.

In 1829, there were forty-four students quitting the institution to enter on professional employment, of whom they were—Europeans, seven; Mahratta, thirty-two; Guzzeratee, five; mathematical instruments, &c., are supplied by the East India Company.

The following very condensed abstract relative to the number of the schools under the Bombay Presidency (according to circular queries in 1825) and the mode in which the teacher is remunerated, will be perused with much interest.

¹ It is much to be regretted that the noble college founded at Calcutta by the Marquess Wellesley, was abolished by the short sighted policy of the Court of Directors of the East India Company in 1803; it would have been the parent stone for the extension of education over the greatest part of Asia.

Official returns (abstract) of the Schools under the Bombay Presidency.

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Districts.	Number of Schools and Scholars.		Allowances to Schoolmasters, and from what Source derived.
	Schools.	Scholars.	
Ahmedabad	City 21 Villages..... 63 Ditto 408 Wanees 1080 Kombees..... 84 17 other castes 480 In Goga 157	Brahmins ... 408 from one to five rupees is also usually paid on his leaving school. The parents also pay about one rupee and a half on the boy being perfect in the first fifteen lessons. A similar sum on acquiring a perfect knowledge of the alphabet, and another similar sum when he is able to write, to cast up accounts, and to draw out bills of exchange. The office of schoolmaster is generally hereditary.	
	Total... 2651	1500 of all castes, including 567 Brahmins, and no girls.	Pecuniary payments, amounting to about four rupees a month upon an average (a salary which is stated to be perfectly inadequate for efficient instruction); it is also customary in Hindoo schools for each child to give two nutwars of rice per month, and the shewoo pice, or two pice, to the teachers on every great Hindoo holiday; but this custom is not invariably observed.
Concan	86 (38 in private dwellings, and 28 in temples.)	Seldom more than 100 boys in each school, in general much less.	The boys daily, when they quit the school in the evening, present a handful of grain, seldom exceeding a quarter of a seer; and when they finally leave the school make the master a present of two or three rupees. Boys of respectable families also give half a rupee on first entering the school, and on days of ceremony send him a meal of grain and ghee. They also sometimes beg for him from respectable visitors. Total of income between 40 and 100 rupees.
Kaira District ...	139 badly conducted.		The office confined in Brahmins, though not hereditary. They receive generally seven seers of grain monthly from the parents of each boy, and five rupees in cash when he is withdrawn from school.
Kaira Sudder Sta- tion.....	2	230 average number of all classes.	The education does not extend beyond the requirements of reading, writing, and arithmetic.

Under this presidency the London Missionary Society maintains the following schools. At *Surat*—*Goojurattee*, for boys, 4; girls, 1—5. At *Darwan*—*Tamil*, 2.

The Calcutta Education Press (now the Baptist Mission Press) has been productive of much good; between July, 1824, and February, 1830, the number of native works produced at this press were—

	Finished.	In Hand.
Sanskrit.....	15	3
Arabic	2	5
Hindi	3	0
Persian	4	1

The total values of the works was rupees, 58,890. *The Calcutta School-Book Society* had published thirty-eight volumes on important subjects, in the several Indian languages, as follows:—

In Sanscrit..	3	Persian.....	5	Anglo-Persian	3
Bengallee	9	Hindostanee ..	1	Anglo-Hindostanee	2
Hindee ..	3	Anglo-Bengallee	3	English.....	6
Arabic ..	2	Anglo-Hindee..	1		<u>38</u>

Of the foregoing elementary and standard volumes, there were 28,671 copies circulated in 1828 and in 1829, as follows:—

Of Reports.....	651	Arabic.....	117
Sanskrit Books	177	Persian	1907
Bengallee	10074	Hindostanee ..	1173
Hindee	2452	English	9616
Ooriya	200	Anglo-Asiatic..	3305
		Total.....	<u>28671</u>

Of the Serampore Missionaries (particularly Drs. Carey¹ and Marshman) it is impossible to speak in sufficiently laudatory terms, without hurting the feelings of those amiable pioneers of civilization. They have twenty-seven missionary stations, containing forty-seven missionaries, spread over an immense extent of country. It is truly observed that 'the missionaries sent from Serampore are prepared for their labours at a moderate expense; they are generally content with a style of living which persons brought up in Europe could not endure without loss of health, and every member of the mission is taught, not only that it is lawful, but desirable, for him to secure the means of his own support, by any employment which does not obstruct his usefulness.'

Shortly before leaving India, I visited the College at Serampore, and was really at a loss which to admire most, the active industry, skill and intelligence put in operation, or the profound and unaffected piety which pervaded the whole establishment. In one part of the College types in every language were being cast; in another a capital steam-engine was plying its powerful machinery for the manufacture of excellent paper; in a third place were numerous compositors employed on books, pamphlets, newspapers, school tracts, hymns, catechisms, &c., and in a fourth spot printers, ink-makers, binders, &c. &c.—

¹ Since the first edition of this work went to press, Dr. Carey has descended, full of honours, to the grave. An interesting memoir of this venerable character will be found in the 'Gentleman's Magazine' for April, 1825, written by Mr. Fisher.

all, in fact, was peace, harmony, and holiness. It is stated in the Serampore account, that, since 1825, from 40,000 to 50,000 volumes or pamphlets (not copies of them) have been thrown into circulation by the native press!

The English language is making rapid strides in every part of India; a recent Bengal newspaper, the *Sumachur Durpun* (which has been established by the Serampore missionaries, one half being in the English, and the other half translations into the Bengalee) states that, with the view of encouraging the study of this language, Lord W. Bentinck has adopted it in his correspondence with Fyz Mahomed Khan, one of the native chiefs in the west, which has created a considerable sensation in Delhi. A demand for English tutors and secretaries is already perceptible. The teacher who recently resigned his situation in the Delhi College, said he could easily get a tutorship and secretaryship under a native prince. Mr. Rennel, of the collector's office, having been discharged, has also the offer of a situation from a native prince. Kishenlall has already engaged an English teacher for his two sons, whom he intends to make secretaries to Fyz Mahomed Khan. Lord William's letters in English to the native chiefs, are likely to draw their attention to the acquisition of English. As soon as the chiefs begin to study the language, or make their sons do so, the use of English will become general.

From the Bombay Durpun, we also learn that the English language is much more generally sought among the natives than at any former period. Be-

sides the school at Poona, the Central English school of the Native Education Society has 100 students, and to this number the school is limited. (The missionaries, with the assistance of the government, have recently established one English school, and the government are about instituting another.) There are, however, numerous private schools on the island, in which the total number of youths learning English, will be found to be several hundreds.

Another journal subsequently observes—‘ We learn that his Majesty of Oude has recently established an English school at Lucknow, and placed it under the controul of Major Low; the number of scholars that now attend daily, amounts to from thirty to forty, the majority of whom are the descendants of Christians, the rest Hindoos and Mahomedans.’

It rests not on my individual testimony, but it is in evidence before Parliament, that the natives have not only shown a great anxiety to obtain a knowledge of the English language, but that they have also evinced considerable proficiency in the same; the truth of the following extract from the recent Parliamentary Committee on the East India affairs, can be attested by hundreds of persons now in Europe.

Some of the students, who have completed their education in the Hindoo College and other institutions, are in the habit of holding debating societies, where they discuss topics of considerable importance in the English language, and read lectures and essays of their own composition, upon various literary and scientific subjects. At one of the meetings above mentioned, the question for discussion was, ‘ Whe-

ther posthumous fame be a rational principle of human action or not.' It is true that the debate soon branched off into a consideration of the possibility and probability of human perfection ; but the orators spoke with remarkable fluency, quoting Gibbon, Hume, Reid, Bolingbroke, Voltaire, Shakspeare, Milton, &c. The forms of similar meetings in England were imitated ; and the chairman having inquired the reason of the secretary's absence, a loud cry of ' Persecution !' was raised, and it was explained that he was prevented from attending by his father, who was afraid that his principles of paganism should be corrupted, in consequence of the other members being deists.

In corroboration of the foregoing, I may mention that I have found many of the Hindoo youths more accurately acquainted with English standard authors than is readily to be met with in England ; they have now got up English playhouses, in which Shakspeare and the productions of the best British dramatists are acted with astonishing spirit. A Literary Society has been recently organized by the learned Hindoos at Madras, and placed in communication with the Royal Asiatic Society of London ; by late arrivals I am informed that an Horticultural Society has been formed at Agra ;—other institutions will doubtless spring up rapidly.

CHAPTER VI.

THE HINDOO RELIGION—ITS ATTRIBUTES, &c.—MAHOMEDANS, PARSEES, JEWS, &c.—STATE OF CHRISTIANITY, &c.

THE government of British India possesses a feature which has rarely or never been found in any nation or in any age, I allude to its *toleration* of every mode or form of religion in which different sects may choose to adore the Creator; to its *protection* against hostility, forcible opposition or oppression by one rival sect against another, and to its *auxiliary* pecuniary *aid* when solicited by any congregation or community.

The Hindoo religion is of course the creed of the vast majority of the people; although now a gross system of *polytheism* adapted to the rudest capacities and appealing to or exciting merely sensual passions, there are various evidences in proof that it was once an almost pure system of *monotheism*, on which was subsequently engrafted the Hindoo *trimurti* or Triad. Thus BRAHM, (God), is among almost innumerable definitions acknowledged in the *vedas*, or sacred writings of the Hindoos, as ‘the Almighty, infinite, eternal, incomprehensible, self-existent Being: He who sees every thing, though never seen: He who is not to be compassed by description: who is beyond the limit of human conception, and from whom the universal world proceeds: whose work is the universe, and who is the Lord of the universe: He who is the Light of all lights, whose name is too sacred to be pronounced, and whose power is too infinite to be

imagined : the one unknown, true Being, the Creator, the Preserver, the Destroyer of the universe !'

These sublime ideas of *the Deity (Brahm !)* who amidst the multitudinous worship of 330,000,000 of gods, has never been desecrated by an image or even temple, and whom the Hindoos dare not even name;) have been often mentioned to me by the late distinguished Rammohun Roy, who in conjunction with a few of his brethren in Calcutta, endeavoured to restore the pure and ancient form of Hindoo monotheism, by the establishment of an institution devoted to the simplest worship of the one, indivisible, invisible, omnipotent, and omnipresent God ; the regulations for the conducting of this worship the writer of this work drew up, and the following is part of the trust deed prepared at the suggestion of Rammohun Roy, in Calcutta, in 1829¹ ; it is a singular instance of a desire to discard the gross idolatry of a once primitive form of religion.

Trust Deed.—‘ Upon trust and in confidence that they the said [*here follow the names of the trustees*] or the survivors or survivor of them, shall, at all times, permit the said building, land, tenements, hereditaments, and premises, with their appurtenances, to be used, occupied, enjoyed, applied, and

¹ The institution was opened by the late Rajah Rammohun Roy, accompanied by the writer (the only European present), in 1830. There were about 500 Hindoos present, and among them many Brahmins, who after the prayers and singing of hymns had been concluded, received gifts in money to a considerable extent.—R. M. M.

appropriated, as, and for a place of public meeting, of all sorts and descriptions of people without distinction, as shall behave and conduct themselves in an orderly, sober, religious, and devout manner, for the worship, and adoration of the Eternal, Unsearchable, and Immutable Being, who is the Author and Preserver of the universe, but not under, or by any other name, designation, or title, peculiarly used for and applied to any particular being or beings, by any man or set of men whatsoever; and that no *graven image, statue, or sculpture, carving, painting, picture, portrait, or the likeness of any thing,* shall be admitted within the messuage, building, &c., and that no sacrifice, offering, or oblation of any kind or thing shall ever be permitted therein; and that no animal or living creature shall, within or on the said messuage, building, land, tenements, hereditaments, and premises, be deprived of life, either for religious purposes, or for food; and that no eating or drinking (except such as shall be necessary by any accident for the present preservation of life), feasting or rioting, be permitted therein or thereon; and that in conducting the said worship or adoration, no object animate or inanimate that has been, or is, or shall hereafter become, or be recognized as an object of worship by any man or set of men, shall be *reviled, or slightly or contemptuously spoken of,* or alluded to, either in preaching, praying, or in the hymns, or other mode of worship that may be delivered, or used in the said messuage or building; and that no sermon preaching, discourse, prayer, or hymn be delivered, made, or used in such worship, but such as

have a tendency to the promotion of the contemplation of the Author and Preserver of the Universe, to the promotion of charity, morality, piety, benevolence, virtue, and the strengthening the bonds of union between men of all religious persuasions and creeds : and also that a person of good repute, and well known for his knowledge, piety, and morality, be employed by the said trustees, as a resident superintendent, and for the purpose of superintending the worship, so to be performed as is hereinbefore stated and expressed ; and that such worship be performed daily, or at least as often as once in seven days.'

What a contrast does the foregoing description of a Hindoo place o' worship present to the establishment of the temple of the Idol of Jugunnauth, in Orissa, which the East India Company have now forbidden their government to meddle with, in any manner, as respects the collection of taxes ¹ from the pilgrims thereto, although levied for the purpose of defraying the expenses incurred for the maintenance of peace and order; it was well, however, to withdraw from the levy of taxes on such idolatry.

Establishment of the Idol Jugunnauth at the Temple in Orissa.

1. *Maha Raja Ramchundra Devu*.—Honorary servant to the idol, to drive the flies from off the idol with a chamur, sweep the great car, and place flowers on the idol.

2. *Moodee Rut'h, alias Plenipotentiary*.—This officer is astronomer to the idol, and performs the other duties in the absence of the Maha Raja.

3. *Nayuk, or Head of the order of servants attending upon the*

¹ The despatch is dated from the Court of Directors, 20th February, 1833 .

idol.—This officer adorns the idol, and performs other services, and superintends all the other officers.

4. *Punda*.—Performs the ceremonies during the presentation of the offerings.

5. *Pusoo-Paluk*.—Adorns the idol.

6. *Chowkiya*.—Keeps watch at the time of presenting the offerings.

7. *Puricha*.—This officer accompanies the idol to the tank, and purifies the temples.

Neab Puricha.—In the absence of the Puricha, these act in his stead.

9. *Muhar Shoohar, or Head Cook*.—Brahmun cooks, who carry the offerings into the presence of the idol.

10. *Shoowars*.—Brahmuns who assist the head cooks.

11. *Guraburoo*.—Persons who give water to the priests at the time of their performing the ceremonies of worship.

12. *Put'hree*.—Clear the sacred vessels, and carry the flowers, sandal-wood, &c. to the officiating priests.

13. *Tunt'hee*.—Brahmuns who place the boiled rice and split peas in silver and gold dishes, before the idol. This is called sirkaree bhoge, or that allowed by the government.

14. *Sawar*.—These persons distribute proper quantities of the offerings to different temples and officers, according to the appointed rules.

15. *Khootiya*.—Warns the idol at the time of the festivals.

16. *Meerkap*.—Master of the wardrobe, that is, of the jewel office; and *Changra Meerkap*, master of wearing apparel.

17. *Doita*.—Removes the idol from the throne, and puts him on the car, and replaces him again.

18. *Putee*.—Brahmuns who dress the idols. After the bathing festival, the idols are taken into a room, stripped of their old clothes, and swaddled with new ones. During the fifteen days of this festival, the offerings are presented by these people.

19. *Majuna*.—These officers rub and clean the idols, and convey the smaller idols to tanks and other places, and afterwards place them in the room allotted for them.

20. *Hurup Nayuk*.—After the offerings are removed, these

officers bring pawn, and hot spices, and place them before the idol, and which Jugunnauth munches at his ease.

21. *Aukund Meerkap*.—Lamp-lighter.
 22. *Kat Meerkap*.—Lord of the bed-chamber.
 23. *Puhuree*.—Watchman at the time of presenting the offerings.
 24. *Pooran Panda*.—Reads out of one of the *Pooranuss* every afternoon near the idol.
 25. *Mookhupukhal*.—A person who attends with a clumsy tooth-brush and water, to wash the face of the idol in the morning.
 26. *Destana*.—Warns the idol of the time for the performance of the ceremonies.
 27. *Porkanaah*.—Watchmen of the wardrobe.
 28. *Chatooa*.—A person who carries the umbrella.
 29. *Tarasiya*.—A person who carries an ensign in the form of a half-moon.
 30. *Deootiya*.—A torch bearer.
 31. *Dunde Chutre*.—A person who stands by the throne with an umbrella, at the time of a feast occurring, on the 11th and 26th of the moon, and at other festivals.
 32. *Kahaliya*.—One who blows the kahal, a sort of trumpet.
 33. *Ghuntooa*.—A person who sounds the ghuntr, or brass bell.
 34. *Ghutwaree*.—A person who prepares the sandal-powder.
 35. *Linka*.—Peons.
 36. *Prudham*.—Persons who give the golden rods of office to the Purichas.
 37. *Dooaree*.—Doorkeepers (porters.)
 38. *Sumnta*.—Grinder of pulse.
 39. *Devu Dasse*.—Dancing and other young and beautiful girls, with a band of musicians.
- Besides split peas, milk, curds, fruit, vegetables, &c. &c., it is said that not less than 124,800 pounds of rice alone are offered to this god every year. The servants of the idol are paid out of grants of temple lands. On extraordinary occasions, (but not of late years) not less than *two million* of people have

assembled at this temple; and if the weather were very wet and inclement, nearly half of them perished!

The largest of the cars of Jugunnauth and his sisters is forty-three feet high, and has a platform of thirty-four feet square: their loftiness and size gives them an imposing air, but every part of the ornaments is of the most mean and paltry description. The enthusiasm of the people is decaying, and soon tires; and it is indispensable to avail of the assistance of a multitude of the inhabitants of the vicinity, who hold their land rent free, on condition of performing the service of dragging the three cars at the annual ceremonies. No person of late has thrown himself beneath the wheels of the idol's car, the East India Company's authorities have taken care to prevent such fanaticism, and indeed it is to be hoped that in a few years more the ceremony will be very trifling.

When it is considered that the religion or idolatry of the Hindoos is the creed of upwards of 60 or 70,000,000 of British subjects, a very brief analysis of some of the Deities worshipped will, doubtless, be acceptable to the English reader. The most learned Brahmins, while asserting and advocating the ancientness and correctness of the form of worship established by the late Rammohun Roy, maintain as an excuse for the present idolatries, that 'it is easier to impress the minds of the rude and ignorant by intelligible symbols than by means which are incomprehensible.' Acting upon this principle (says Mr. Coleman in his erudite work on the Hindu Pantheon), the Supreme and Omnipotent God whom the Hindoo has been taught to consider as too mighty for him to attempt to approach or even to name, has been lost sight of in the multiplicity of false deities whose graven images have been worshipped in his place. The Hindoo *Veda* (Bible) inculcates the belief in and

worship of *one great and only God*, omnipotent, omnipresent and omniscient, whose attributes are allegorically (and only *allegorically*) represented by the three *personified* powers of Creation (*Brahma*), Preservation (*Vishnu*) and Destruction (*Siva*) who form the Hindoo *triad* without beginning and without end, destruction and reproduction being one—the same—indivisible. Comprehendable as these attributes are, it is but natural to suppose that the Hindoo sages having once entered on allegory in an endeavour to explain *immateriality*, by materiality, there were no bounds to invention, but the fertility of thought and the credulity of their followers ; thus on a simple and sublime monotheism there has been grafted a trinity, and thence a polytheism, accompanied by the most disgusting of abominations, while the imaginary deities most honoured (as the goddess *Kali*) are of the most cruel, bloodthirsty and bestial character. Let us now glance at the mythological history of the principal Hindoo deities, in which it is not a little remarkable we find such a close approximation to the Greek Pantheon, while the ox so venerated by the Egyptians is held in such sacredness by the Hindoos.

HISTORY AND ATTRIBUTES OF THE HINDOO DEITIES¹.
 Brahm ! the Supreme Being created the world and formed the goddess Bhavani (Nature) who had three sons, Brahma, Vishnu and Siva ; to the first was assigned the duty of continuing the creation of the world ; to the second its preservation ; and to the

¹ The reader desirous of a more detailed account will find it in Coleman's elaborate Hindoo theology.

third its destruction : in other words these three presided over the three great operations of nature—production, preservation, and destruction.

BRAHMA (Saturn) the grandfather of gods and men ; creating power dormant until again required to be exerted in the formation of a future world on the total annihilation of the present one, which is expected in the kalki avatar (or tenth incarnation on earth of Vishnu) : represented as a golden coloured figure with four heads and four arms. Power being dormant, seldom worshipped ; his heaven excels all others in magnificence, containing the united glories of all the heavens of the other deities. His earthly incarnations are (1) Daksha—(2) Viswakarma (Vulcan) architect of the universe, fabricator of arms to the gods, presides over the arts and manufactures, and represented as a white man with three eyes. Many temples dedicated to this god—one at Ellora, hewn 130 feet in depth out of the solid rock, representing the appearance of a magnificent vaulted chapel, supported by vast ranges of octangular columns, and adorned by sculptures of beautiful and perfect workmanship. (3.) Nareeda (Mercury) messenger of the gods, inventor of the lute, and a wise legislator. (4.) Brigu, who appears to have presided over population, since he caused the wife of King Suguru, heretofore barren, to produce 60,000 sons at one birth ! The Brahmadas, Menus and Rishis, are sages descended *longo intervallo* from Brahma, whose wife (some say the daughter), Suraswatty (Minerva), is the goddess of learning, music, poetry, history and the sciences ; her festival is highly honoured,

and offerings made to her in expiation of the sin of lying or having given false evidence.

We now come to the second of the Hindoo Triad.

VISHNU—the preserver of the universe—represented of a black or blue colour, with four arms and a club to punish the wicked. He is a household god, extensively worshipped, and on his tenth (nine are passed) avatar, when the sins of mankind are no longer bearable, he will appear as an armed warrior on a white horse adorned with jewels, having wings, holding in the one hand a sword of destruction, and in the other a ring emblematical of the perpetually revolving cycles of time. His heaven is described in the Mahabarat as entirely of gold, 80,000 miles in circumference ; all its edifices composed of jewels and precious stones,—the seat of the god is glorious as the meridian sun ;—Sri or Lakshmi, the goddess of fortune, and favourite wife of Vishnu, shining with 10,000 beams of lightning, sits on his right hand ; there is a constant singing of hymns and chaunting his praises. His various avatars or earthly incarnations were for the purpose of saving the world, restoring the lost Vedas or sacred writings, to destroy the giants, punish the wicked, &c. His first avatar was in the form of a fish, to save a pious King Satyavrata (by some supposed to mean Noah) and his family, when the earth was about to be overwhelmed by a deluge on account of the wickedness of the people. Vishnu at first appeared before the devout monarch as a little fish to try his piety and benevolence, then gradually expanding himself he became one of immense magnitude ; and thus an-

nounced the flood, which on account of the depravity of the world was about to overwhelm the earth with destruction—‘ in seven days from the present time the three worlds will be plunged in an ocean of death ; but in the midst of the destroying waves a large vessel, sent by me for thy use, shall stand before thee. Then shalt thou take all medicinal herbs, all variety of seeds, and accompanied by seven saints, encircled by pairs of all brute animals, thou shalt enter the spacious ark, and continue in it secure from the flood on an immense ocean, without light except the radiance of thy holy companions. When the ship shall be agitated by an impetuous wind, thou shalt fasten it with a large sea serpent to my horn, for I will be near thee, drawing the vessel with thee and thy attendants. I will remain on the ocean until a day of Brahma (a year) shall be completely ended.’

‘ As it was announced,’ says Mr. Coleman, ‘ the deluge took place ; and Satyavrata entered the ark and did as he was directed, in fastening it to the horn of the fish ; which again appeared, blazing like gold, and extending a million of leagues. When the deluge was abated, and mankind destroyed (except Satyavrata and his companions), Vishnu slew the demon Hayagriva, and recovered the lost Veda : or, in other words, when the wicked were destroyed by the deluge, sin no longer prevailed, and virtue was restored to the world.’

From one to eight the Avatars of Vishnu are of various descriptions (that of the second, or tortoise, producing the water of life, affords an extraordinary

coincidence with the singular story of the Iroquois Indians), for the punishment of evil and the reward of good ; the eighth Avatar was that of the celebrated god Krishna, whose attributes are similar to those of the Greek deity Apollo, and like the latter, extensively and enthusiastically worshipped, especially by the ladies. He is represented as extremely beautiful, of an azure colour, with a crown of glory on his head, and Orpheus-like ravishing the mountains and trees, as well as all animated nature, with the exquisite music of a flute. He had 16,000 mistresses, and was nearly as great a conqueror in the battle field as in the camp of love, but he subsequently became penitent, was satisfied with eight wives (astronomically considered to represent the planets moving round the sun, which Krishna is sometimes thought to represent) ; his festivals are well kept, and much rejoicement and pleasures of various kinds are then indulged in. His son by Rukmini (Venus), the most beautiful and favoured wife, was Kamadeva, or Camdeo (Cupid) with bee-strung bow and flower-tipped shaft, riding on a (Lory) parrot with emerald wings, sometimes accompanied by his consort Affection, full of mischief and always wandering about ; as Sir W. Jones has beautifully apostrophized Camdeo—

Where'er thy seat—whate'er thy name,
Seas, earth, and air thy reign proclaim ;
Wreathy smiles and roseate pleasures,
Are thy richest, sweetest treasures ;
All animals to thee their tribute bring,
And hail thee universal king !

The other Avatars of Hanuman (the monkey) Wittoba, (the gigantic crane), &c., it would be unnecessary to particularize, we may therefore proceed to examine the third branch of the Hindoo trinity.

SIVA, the destroyer, is one of the most dreaded of the triad; his emblems are conjectured by Mr. Patterson to be pregnant with allegorical allusions: he has three eyes to denote the three divisions of time—past, present, and future—‘ the crescent in his forehead refers to the measure of time by the phases of the moon, as the serpent denotes it by years; and the necklace of skulls, the lapse and revolution of ages, and the extinction and succession of the generations of mankind. He holds the trident in one hand, to show that the three great attributes of creating, preserving, and destroying, are in him united, and that he is the Iswara, or supreme Lord, above Brahma and Vishnu; and that the emblem called *damara*, shaped like an hour-glass, with which he is sometimes seen, was actually intended to be such, to pourtray the progress of time by the current of the sand in the glass. On the celebrated colossal sculpture of the *Trimurti*, or three-formed god (Brahma, Vishnu, and Siva), in the caves of Elephanta, he has marked on his cap a human skull and a new-born infant, to show his two-fold power of destruction and reproduction; and on another figure in the same cave, he is represented in the attributes of his vindictive character, with eight arms, two of which are partly broken off. In one of the remaining six he brandishes a sword, and in another holds a human figure: in the third he has a basin of blood, and in the fourth a sacrificial bell, which he appears

to be ringing over it. With the other two he is in the act of drawing a veil, which obscures the sun, and involves all nature in universal destruction¹.

His consort *Kali* is represented like her husband, with a necklace of skulls, and a sword of destruction, but painted of a dark colour (*Siva* is white) to indicate the eternal night that will follow the dissolution of Time. On the grand consummation of things, when time itself shall be destroyed, *Siva* is represented as deprived of his necklace of skulls, sword, crescent and trident, to demonstrate his dominion and power no longer exists. The bull is his favourite animal, hence its reverence among the Hindoos. The worshippers of *Siva*, who are beyond all comparison the most numerous (in Bengal) perform the most revolting, barbarous, and obscene rites : some lie on beds of iron spikes, others thrust rods of steel through the tongue and other parts of the body, many have a hook passed through the muscles of the loins, by which they hang and swing from a scaffolding thirty feet high ; the bodies are covered with nails or packing needles, the leg is kept bent, or the arm extended, until it becomes immovable ; the fists are clenched until the nails grow out of the back of the hand, and the most painful tortures, self-inflicted, by a host of filthy, naked *Sunyassis*, who in private make amends for the pain and filth they undergo in public by a revolting system of debauchery. *Siva* has several incarnations, one termed *Bhairava*, or *Byru* (or by some said to be his son by the cruel goddess *Kali*) is a terrific deity, only to be satisfied by blood. *Kali*

¹ Coleman's Hindoo Mythology.

(black goddess), so horribly worshipped by the Hindoos with human sacrifices, whenever they could evade the watchfulness of the British government, is adored under various forms and names of *Bhavani*, goddess of Nature and fecundity—as the potent *White Parvati*, and as the tremendous *Yellow Durga*, who delights in sacrifices of the blood of sheep and goats, and during whose festival every species of licentiousness prevails; the latter is represented as having 100 arms, and that by means of 100,000,000 chariots, 120,000,000,000 elephants, 10,000,000 swift footed horses, and a proportionate number of infantry, she conquered 30,000 giants, who were such monsters in size, that they covered the earth.

The foregoing brief analysis of the Hindoo trinity and their consorts will suffice, for the reader would doubtless not desire a further description of the 300,000,000 deities who branch off from the preceding Brahma, Vishnu, and Siva; sufficient has been said to demonstrate the basis of the Hindoo mythology, the sects embraced under whose faith are extremely numerous, all tending to prove that when man attempts to materialize spirit, there is no end to the absurdities and inconsistencies into which he may be led.

CHRONOLOGY OF THE HINDOOS.—Connected with their religion, and indeed in a great measure embraced with its mythology, is the Hindoo system of chronology, which comprises a *calpa*, or grand period of 4,320,000,000 years divided into four lesser *yugs* (period of ages) thus :

1st. Satya-yug—years 1,728,000.	3rd. Dwapa-yug—years 864,000.
2nd. Treta-yug 1,296,000.	4th. Kali-yug 432,000.

making one Divine age or *Maha* (great) *yug*, of which there are to be 71 *Maha* *yugs*, equivalent to 306,720,000 of our years; but this is not all, for there is to be added a *sandhi* (when day and night border on each other)=a *satya-yug* 1,728,000 years; one *manwantara*=368,448,000 years; fourteen of which=4,318,272,000; and adding a *sandhi* (1,728,000 years) to begin the *calpa*, or grand period, forming a duration for the world extending over 4,320,000,000 of our present years; those who fear the destruction of the world will be glad to learn that only one half of this period has passed, the date being now *anno mundi* 2,160,000,000! Mr. S. Davis, in his essay on the subject in the Asiatic Researches, demonstrates that these are not fanciful fictions, but founded on actual astronomical calculations, based on an hypothesis. The Hindoos date from the commencement of the present *kali-yug*, which begun, according to our era, in the 906th year. The corresponding dates are therefore—Hindoo 4,933; A. M. 5,839; A. D. 1832. The Hindoos have various other eras, which are too numerous and unimportant to be dwelt on.

MAHOMEDANISM. The disciples of Islam embrace about 15,000,000 of the population of British India, and they are divided into several sects; one in particular, the *Mundaris*, founded by Mondana Soofi—admit the divine mission of Mahomet, but disclaim his title to particular veneration; like the Sunyassis

they go nearly naked, braid the hair, smear the body with ashes and filth, and wear heavy iron chains round their waists and neck.

That the Mahomedan religion did not make any greater progress than we find it has done after several centuries of government in India, although its practical essence is sensuality and well adapted to people of a tropical clime, must be ascribed to the persecutions with which its propagators endeavoured to extend it, thus presenting a strong contrast to Christianity, which, wherever it was reviled and spit upon, was sure to be extended; and when (as among Roman Catholic enthusiasts) endeavoured to be propagated by idolatries and force, certain to bring down ruin on its propagators. There are, however, many excellent precepts in the Koran. Take, for instance, the following observations frequently inscribed over the gate of a mosque—‘The world was given us for our own edification, not for the purpose of raising sumptuous buildings; life for the discharge of moral and religious duties, not for pleasurable indulgences; wealth to be liberally bestowed, not avariciously hoarded; and learning to produce good actions, not empty disputes.’

There are many other religious sects among the British population of India—some, such as the Bazeeghurs or Nuts (the gipsies of Hindostan) are half Hindoos and half Mussulmans, admitting the rite of circumcision, yet employing a Brahminical priest; the Bazeeghurs conceive that one spirit pervades all nature, and that the soul being a particle of that universal spirit, will, when released from the body, re-

join its parent source. The Dhamians, or Vashtenava sect, was founded about one hundred years ago, and is a compound of Hindoo and Islamism ; proselytes are admitted from both, and the sect is probably extending : their form of worship is by chaunting a few melodious hymns, and reading from a sacred book. The Sirmooris, like other hill tribes, are immersed in the deepest superstition, every mountain peak being the residence of a sprite whose wrath it is deemed dangerous to provoke. ‘ Polyandry, or the custom of one woman having two or more husbands (relations), obtains among them. It frequently happens that two brothers succeed conjointly to an estate : they cohabit with one wife, and the integrity of the property is thus preserved¹.’ This strange custom indicates the state of society. The women of another mountain tribe, the Newars, like the Nairs of Malabar, may have as many husbands as they please, being at liberty to divorce them on the slightest pretences. The Binderwars, one of the Goand or Gond tribes inhabiting the hills of Oomacutu, are sunk in the deepest paganism ; they are cannibals, but declare a strong abhorrence of eating any person but one of their own tribe, and then only when he or she is attacked by what they may deem an irrecoverable illness, on which occasion they collect all the relatives of the sick person, cut the throat of the diseased, and then feast amidst much rejoicing on the body : this bloody rite is considered a meritorious act by this otherwise innocent people. Other idolatrous tribes, such as the Bheels, Koolies, Ramoosees,

¹ Asiatic Researches.

&c. have one peculiarity which it would be well if Christians would rival them in,—*their word is sacred*—*their promise unimpeachable*.

The religion of the inhabitants of the Tenasserim coast is Buddhism, but it does not appear that they are such pious worshippers as the Peguers and Siamese. It cannot be doubted, however, that the doctrines of Buddha have had great influence in softening and refining the manners of the people¹. Previous to its introduction, these nations must have been savage in the extreme, for they have left nothing to show that they cultivated the arts, or were acquainted with letters. Captain Low considers, that the Burhman pagodas are highly deserving attention and respect, and that they materially tend to confirm the supposition of Maurice, that the circular temples in England, the remains of which attract notice to this day, particularly that of Stonehenge, were originally dedicated to Buddhist worship.

Before proceeding to notice the Christian sects, it will be well to say a few words on that singular and exemplary race termed—

PARSEES, OR FIRE WORSHIPPERS, who form one of the most valuable classes of the subjects of the British crown. This sect preferring liberty to slavery, and the exercise of their pure religion to the degrading heresy of Mahomet, emigrated from Persia in the seventeenth century, soon after the conquest of the Persians by the Mahomedans, carrying with them that sacred fire (emblematical of the Sun, and thence

¹ See the Volume on Ceylon, for a description of Buddhism.

of the Almighty) which they religiously venerate. A number of these persecuted Guebers found their way to western India along the coast near Danoo and Cape Sejan, and were admitted by the Hindoo Rajah to settle in the neighbouring country, principally at Oodwara (still the residence of their chief priests, and the depository of the sacred fire brought with them). They may be termed the Quakers of the east. The opulent among them are merchants, brokers, ship-owners, and extensive land-owners. The lower orders are shopkeepers, and follow most of the mechanic arts, except those connected with fire: thus there are neither silversmiths, nor any workers of the metals among them; nor are there any soldiers, the use of fire-arms being abhorrent to their principles; nor are there any sailors. Their charities are munificent and unbounded, relieving the poor and distressed of all tribes, and maintaining their own poor in so liberal a manner that a Parsee beggar is no where seen or heard of.

The Parsee population is divided into clergy and laity (Mobed and Bedeen). The clergy and their descendants are very numerous, and are distinguished from the laity by the wearing of white turbans; but they follow all kinds of occupations, except those who are particularly selected for the service of the churches, though they have no distinction of castes. A recent innovation, respecting the commencement of their new year, has formed them into two tribes, one celebrating the festival of the new year a month before the other, which causes their religious ceremonies and holidays to fall also on different days.

The modern, like the ancient Parsis or Parsees, have no statues of the Deity, no temples, no altars, they treat such as folly; they reverence the whole vault of heaven, the sun, the moon, planets, stars, earth, fire, water, and the winds, but do not sacrifice to them as Herodotus describes the ancient Parsis to have done. The Zend-Avesta, or sacred writings (ascribed by some to Zoroaster), are principally a series of liturgic services and prayers. Light is regarded as the best and noblest symbol of the Supreme Being, who is without form. They delight to worship the rising sun, the rays of which are never allowed to fall direct on the sacred fire within the temples, or rather repositories of the fire. The Parsees suppose a continued warfare between good and evil spirits¹, which fill all nature, and besides a heaven and a hell, which latter is not eternal; they have a middle state (hanustan) where the souls of those whose good and evil actions are equally balanced remain till the day of judgment. They have no fasts, as God delights in the happiness of his creatures; all birds and beasts of prey, with the dog and the hare, are alone forbidden food. Polygamy is not allowed, unless the first wife be barren; concubinage strictly forbidden; priests marry, and marriage being laudable, every season is good; unlike the Hindoos, they admit converts, and the planting of trees is esteemed among their good works.

Most of the ancient ceremonies have been preserved inviolate, and particularly those concerning the rites

¹ The dog and cock are respected for their guardian watchfulness.

of sepulture. No person of a different sect is allowed to approach, or any stranger allowed to witness the obsequies; the bodies are exposed to the elements and birds on the terraces of towers or sepulchres.

They have a few plain and unornamented churches, where they assemble for the purpose of prayer; they are crowded every day by the clergy, but the laity only attend on certain days.

Jews, black and white, exist in various parts of India, in particular a very ancient colony of black Jews reside in Cochin, who, it is traditionally said, arrived in India soon after the Babylonian captivity. Mr. Fisher, the learned and indefatigable searcher of the records at the India House, in advertizing to this circumstance, says, that 'this tradition derives countenance from the circumstance of their possessing copies of only those books of the Old Testament which were written previously to the captivity, but none of those whose dates are subsequent to that event. The library of the late Tippo Sultaun contained some translations from these ancient Jewish scriptures; and there are copies of them in the possession of Jews in Malabar, which are remarkable for this peculiarity. Some of the Jewish manuscripts which are in the hands of native Jews are described as exhibiting an appearance of high antiquity, and as written on rolls of a substance resembling paper, and in a character which has a strong resemblance to, but not an exact agreement with, the modern Hebrew.'

The eastern Jews, like their western brethren, are astute traders; they have several synagogues, and are remarkable for a zeal to diffuse the tenets of the faith

in which they believe : they are said to be very numerous in China, but afraid of being confounded with the Christians, who are zealously watched in the celestial empire.

CHRISTIANS.—The most ancient of the sects who believe in the divine incarnation (or as the Hindoos would term it, *avatar*) of Christ are the Syrian Christians, disciples of St. Thomas the Apostle, who, it is said, after establishing Christianity in Arabia Felix, and in the island of Socotra, landed at Cranganore, on the Malabar coast, A.D. 51, where he found a colony of Jews living under the protection of a powerful Hindoo sovereign. St. Thomas, it is said, rapidly spread Christianity along the coast and throughout Southern India, but one of the kings having become a convert to the faith, St. Thomas was subjected to much persecution, and ultimately stoned to death on a mount, which still bears the name of the martyr. The following interesting account of this primitive church has been handed me by Mr. Fisher, late of the India House, and it is hoped the statements thus given will lead to further investigation into so exciting a subject.

St. Thomas's Mount, as well as the ancient city or town, to which also the Christian inhabitants have given the name of St. Thomé, are now, and have been for several centuries places of pilgrimage and annual resort of Christians, who come from all parts of India, the interior of Armenia and Syria, crowding to the town, and covering the mount, in order that they may kiss the spot where the apostle suffered martyrdom, there also depositing their offerings, and praying over the place of his sepulture, which they are represented as holding in such high veneration, that they carry away with them small portions of

the red earth, and, conceiving it to possess miraculous properties, administer it with great solemnity to the sick and dying.

The Syrian Christians suffered persecution from heathen rulers during the three first centuries. Early in the fourth century they obtained aid from Athanasius, Bishop of Alexandria, who is represented as having come to their succour, and appointed a bishop to rule over and protect them.

In the year 345, Mar Thomas assumed charge of them, under the authority of Eustathius, bishop of Antioch, and introduced amongst them several bishops and priests, as also 'many Christian men, women, and children from foreign countries.' This man, Thomas Cama, or Mar Thomas, was an Armenian merchant, in creed an Arian, who first came to India with commercial views only ; but being a virtuous and upright man, and having amassed great wealth, he obtained the friendship of the kings of Cranganore and Cochin, at the same time enjoying the veneration and respect of the Christians of St. Thomas, for whom he is stated to have built many churches, to have established seminaries for the education of their clergy, and to have founded a town called Maha Devapatam, in the neighbourhood of the city of Cranganore, wherein he planted the foreign colony of Christians he had imported.

He also, assisted by Syrian teachers, introduced the Syro-Chaldaic ritual, and successfully exerted his influence with the native princes to obtain for the Christians on the Malabar coast exclusive privileges ; such as independence of the native judges, except in criminal cases, and a rank in the country equal to nobility, by which they were placed on a level with the superior castes. These privileges were ostensibly granted to the Christians, in consideration of their virtues, and they were enjoyed uninterruptedly through several succeeding centuries, having been confirmed by formal grants in different and now unknown languages, engraved on tablets composed of a mixed metal. The inscription on the plate supposed to contain the oldest grant is in the nail-headed or Persepolitan character ; another is a character which has no affinity with any existing language in Hindostan. These tablets were lost during several centuries, and were recovered a few years since by the

exertions of Colonel Macauley, the British resident in Travancore, to the great joy of the Syrian churches; by whom they were deposited, and are still preserved in the Syrian college, which has been erected at Cattayam.

In settling the ecclesiastical constitution of the Syrian churches, it was determined that the right to rule over them should vest in those families only out of which the apostle had himself ordained priests. The offices of bishop, archdeacon, and priest were accordingly for many years confined to these families, and persons were chosen from them who were recognized as the natural judges in all civil and ecclesiastical causes, and as having authority over all temporal as well as ecclesiastical affairs.

In the ninth century the Syrian Christians were much depressed, and sought the aid of the Nestorian patriarch, who commissioned two ecclesiastics of that church, Mar Saul and Mar Ambrose, to proceed to Malabar and rule over them. These prelates, on their arrival at Quilon, were received by the Christians with great thankfulness. By their presence they soon commanded the respect of the native princes, who allowed them to make converts, and to erect churches wherever they pleased, for which also they obtained endowments from the noble and wealthy part of the community. From the Hindoo princes they moreover obtained the formal renewal of ancient privileges by grants, which were engraven, as those of higher antiquity had been, on plates of metal. These grants are still preserved, and are in the languages of Malabar, of Canara, of Bisnagur, and in Tamul.

The Syrian or Nestorian bishops, Mar Saul and Mar Ambrose, are still held in high veneration by the Syrian Christians, who mention them in their prayers, and dedicate churches to their memory.

Between the ninth and fourteenth centuries these Christians are described as having attained to their highest state of external respectability, if not of purity. They were enlightened by the instruction of a succession of able teachers from Syria, who spread the blessings of the gospel with zeal, integrity, and honour; receiving such only to their communion as could

approach with unblemished character, and rejecting all and every one who could not appear with hands undefiled, and with minds thoroughly convinced of the abomination of heathen worship. All false miracles were then rejected, and the Christians were distinguished by intelligence and decency of manners, which recommended them to the native princes, by whom their teachers were invested with the first offices under the government. At length they entirely shook off the yoke of the Hindoo princes, and elected a chief or king of their own religion, raising one Baliarte to the throne, who assumed the title of 'king of the Christians of St. Thomas'; but this state of independence did not long continue. The regal power, through default of succession, passed to the rajah of Cochin, and that chief, while he professedly respected their rights, persecuted them through hatred of their religion.

In this state the Portuguese found them, encompassed on all sides by enemies, and bowed under the yoke of the Hindoo princes. The account which the Portuguese gave of them was, that they 'were in a state of decadence, and amounted to about 200,000 Christians, the wreck of an unfortunate people, who called themselves Christians of St. Thomas, and after the example of their ancestors, performed pilgrimages every year to the place where the apostle consummated his martyrdom: whose history and miracles, extracted from their annals, had been composed into a species of canticles translated into the language of the country, and sung by the inhabitants of the fishery (the Manaar pearl fishery), and of the coast of Malabar.'

Their subsequent history is a good deal interwoven with that of the Roman Catholics in India;—it may suffice to observe, that when the Syrian Christians placed themselves under the direction of the Portuguese missionaries, and, as the latter assert, 'voluntarily requested that they might be adopted as good and faithful subjects of the king of Portugal,' they amounted to 1500 Christian churches under the Syrian patriarch, retaining their martial character, and associating with the higher castes of Hindoos, who deemed themselves honoured by the association. On the part of the Syrian churches, it is

stated that they proposed their union with the western church, ‘having full confidence in its piety and truth, and no knowledge of its corruptions;’ that in particular the sacraments of confirmation, of extreme unction, of auricular confession, and the worship of images, were unknown to them; that the title of ‘Mother of God’ was, when they heard it, disgusting to them, and that when her image was first presented to them, they rejected it with indignation, exclaiming, ‘We are Christians, and not idolaters.’ To induce the Syrians to conform to the idolatry of the Roman Catholic Church, the missionaries resorted first to artifice and then to force. They founded colleges and schools for youth, whom they proposed to instruct in the rites of the Latin church, still employed the Syrian language, and it is believed that their schools did some service; but these measures not effecting their main object, which appears to have been the establishment of the Pope’s supremacy, together with the erroneous tenets and particularly the idolatry of his religion¹, the missionaries resorted to the inquisition about the middle of the sixteenth century. Division, contention, and confusion were the natural consequences of this step; in which state the churches continued till the year 1599, when a fresh attempt was made to effect a compromise between the Latin and Syrian Christians, at a conference called the synod of Udiampur, a town in the neighbourhood of Cochin. Here the parties met; but the Roman Catholic missionaries, the Jesuits, had bribed the civil power, which was in the hands of the Cochin rajah, so effectually, as to destroy the freedom of discussion, and eventually to obtain the means of subjecting the Syrian bishops to persecution, for their faithful adherence to the truth. Two of these confessors, Mar Symeon and Mar Ignatius, were embarked on board of Portuguese vessels for

¹ They professed to have found the remains of St. Thomas the apostle and martyr, and a skull and bones, called his, were kept and worshipped in a church at Goa, dedicated to the blessed Virgin, mother of God. One friar Emanuel is reported to have dug up these remains at the command of Don John, King of Portugal.

Lisbon, where they were treated as heretics, and never more heard of in India. In this state of depression and suffering under Popish intolerance, the Syrian Christians continued more than sixty years, until the capture of Quilon by the Dutch, in 1661. By that event the power of the Portuguese was destroyed, and the Christians of St. Thomas restored to liberty. In 1665, the Jesuits quitted India. From their expulsion to the year 1815, the Syrian churches continued a separate branch of the Indian community; although divided into sects, and impaired in energy and purity of doctrine, by their unhappy connexion with the Roman missionaries.

In 1815, on the demise of their patriarch, they obtained the aid of the Company's government, exerted through Colonel Macaulay, the Company's resident in Travancore, who having recovered for them their ancient grants and evidences of nobility, assisted them to found a college at Cattayam for the education of a clergy, and for the Syrian youth generally. Colonel Macaulay effected several other arrangements for the general improvement of their condition. A considerable grant of land was obtained for the college, together with a donation of 20,000 rupees from the Ranee of Travancore, and three English missionaries were attached to the college at the instance of the resident.

The Syrian Christians now exist under three denominations.

First, The Syrian churches, of which there are fifty-seven in Quilon and the neighbouring districts, comprehend a Christian population of 70,000 persons, who are governed by a metropolitan, and retain a comparatively pure doctrine, although its professors are in general in low condition.

Second, The Syro-Roman Churches, who had adopted the Roman ritual with its corruptions, but still perform their worship in the Syrian language. These are in number 97 churches, with a population of about 96,000; viz. 52 churches, with a population of about 49,000, under the Archbishop of Cranganore; 38 churches, with a population of 40,000, under the vicar apostolique of Verapoli; and 7 churches, with a population of about 7000, under the Bishop of Cochin and Quilon.

Third, The Latin churches, which have fully conformed to

the Church of Rome, and use a ritual in the Latin language. These are in number 40 churches, with a population of about 54,000, viz. 21 churches, with a population of about 29,000, under the vicar apostolique of Verapoli; and 19 churches, with a population of about 35,000, under the Bishop of Cochin and Quilon. In addition to these churches, and dependent on them, there are numerous chapels of ease scattered over the country, in many instances four to each principal church.

The Syrian churches keep quite distinct from the Latin churches, and do not intermix with them.

Such of these churches, and they are numerous, as are within the Company's territory, have enjoyed not only that general protection for persons and property which is common to all classes of natives, but many grants or loans of money, and grants of land for the erection of churches and for cemeteries have been made to them. A volume might be filled with the details of these grants. The claims of the Christians for protection against Mahomedans and Hindoos are also not unfrequent. The following is a somewhat remarkable instance:—In one of the villages within the territories of the ex-peishwa, lately transferred to the Bombay presidency, there appears to have been a body of these native Christians, who immediately, on the establishment of the British power in the district, applied to the magistrate to relieve them from the disagreeable obligation of drawing the Hindoo idol's car on his festival day. The Hindoos put in a formal answer to the claim of exemption, pleading that the practice had continued for more than eighty years, which amounted to custom beyond the memory of man to the contrary. The cause was duly, and it may be presumed ably, argued by native vakeels, before the British magistrate, who decided that no custom, of however long continuance, could justify a practice so monstrous, as that of compelling Christians to draw the car of an idol. The decision was final, whether it gave universal satisfaction the record does not state.

ROMAN CATHOLIC MISSIONARIES.—The establishment of these missionaries at Goa, early in the sixteenth century, has already been adverted to, and their most oppressive conduct

towards the Syrian Christians. The learning and science of Europe, which they carried to India with them, contributed, it may be presumed, as much as the military power of the Portuguese, to give them an influence and ascendancy among the native princes, which they might have enjoyed as long and as beneficially as the East India Company have enjoyed theirs, had they used it as temperately, as wisely, and as justly. How they did use it is now matter of history, and if any of your readers are not sufficiently informed upon the subject, they may be referred to the history of the inquisition of Goa, or to the several other Portuguese accounts of their mission.

The East India Company's dominion, as it spread in India, extended of course over countries and places which contained churches, religious houses, and other establishments of Roman Catholics, for the most part of Portuguese origin. These Roman Catholics have received, and still receive, the same protection for their persons and property, religious as well as civil, as has been extended to every other class of inhabitants. The Padrees, for they were known by that name in the seventeenth century, have been allowed the free exercise of their religion to the extent of building and consecrating churches, and performing worship therein, according to their own views. They have also been allowed peaceably to carry the Host in procession, but have not been permitted to compel either Papists, Protestants, Mahomedans, or Hindoos to kneel before it. Endeavours to exert force have occasionally brought them in contact with the Company's government, and at one time the refractory conduct of the congregation *De Propaganda Fide* caused them to be excluded from Madras, and the Capuchins to be preferred and allowed, as the only body of Roman Catholics which the government could at that time with safety to the peace of the settlement permit to reside in it. But this and any other similar restraints which may have been imposed have been temporary, and withdrawn when the occasions have ceased. There is not, that I am aware of, any regulation of the Company's government which would prevent one of the bishops of the Church of Rome, now resident in India, from receiving and wearing a cardinal's hat, were it the pleasure of

his holiness the Pope to send him one. The law of *præmuniare*, the famous contrivance of Henry the Eighth, by which he deprived his minister Wolsey of all his goods, and John Fisher, bishop of Rochester, of his head, is unknown in India, except as a piece of English history. The Roman Catholic Bishops of India do in fact correspond with the several states of Europe, such as Italy, France, and Portugal, to which they acknowledge ecclesiastical allegiance, and have often obtained assistance from the Company in conducting their correspondence with those states, and in remitting and receiving funds. Still further, they enjoy at the present time large pecuniary support, which has from time to time been freely granted to them, in every instance where a case of necessity and of useful application has been clearly made out. In such cases, the Company have either granted plots of ground, or sums of money, to erect churches, or the loan of such funds or stipends for the officiating priests, of whom there are at the present time a very considerable number in the monthly receipt of such stipends.

The Roman Catholic establishments which now enjoy the protection and support of the East India Company, include four apostolical vicars, with authority direct from the Pope; nominated by the Society De Propaganda Fide, and stationed at Pondicherry, Verapoly, Bombay, and Agra. There is also a prefect of the Romish mission at Nepaul. These apostolical vicars have under them in their several dioceses a number of priests; most of whom are natives of India, and have been educated in Indian seminaries by European ecclesiastics.

There are also two Archbishops and two Bishops, presented by the King of Portugal. The archbishops are of Goa, who is the metropolitan and primate of the Orient; and of Cranganore, in Malabar. The

bishops are, of Cochin in Malabar, and St. Thomas at Madras. The latter includes Calcutta in his diocese ; where he has a legate, who has under his superintendence fourteen priests and ten churches, viz. in Calcutta, one ; in Serampore, one ; in Chinsurrah, one ; in Bandel, one ; in Cosimbazar, one ; three at Chittagong ; in Backergunge, one ; and in Bowal, one.

The priests and churches under the presidencies of Madras and Bombay are very numerous, exclusive of those which were formerly Syrian churches, and have been, as already mentioned, incorporated with that of Rome.

The Roman Catholic bishop of Bombay, who, with his vicar-general, resided on the island, has under his jurisdiction there five churches, inclusive of a new church on the island of Colaba, and two chapels. There are connected with these establishments thirteen priests, exclusive of the bishop and his vicar. All the churches, except Colaba, have sufficient endowments for their support, and that of their priests.

The principal church, which is dedicated to N. S. da Esperança, formerly stood on the Esplanade ; but in the year 1804 it was removed at the Company's expense, and a new one erected by Salliah Mahomed Fuzeel. This building cost about 4,000*l.* In 1831 it was discovered that the work had been badly executed, and the church was then ready to fall, in consequence of which the Company made a further grant of 14,000 rupees, nearly 2,000*l.*, towards its repair.

At Surat there are two churches under the juris-

diction of the Bishop of Bombay. The oldest was erected in the year 1624 ; and it is a remarkable circumstance that for many years this church enjoyed a monthly income of 126 rupees, two annas paid by the Nabob of Surat, by virtue of a Sunnud from the Emperor at Delhi. This endowment ceased to be paid when Surat came entirely under the controul of the Company ; but the church is still in possession of freehold property, yielding a monthly sum sufficient for its support. The second church is wholly supported by the Company, who pay the priest his monthly stipend of forty rupees. The stated worshippers in these two churches somewhat exceed one hundred.

The other Roman Catholic churches under the presidency of Bombay are as follow : one in Broach, which was erected, and is still supported, by voluntary subscription, excepting a monthly stipend of thirty rupees to the priest, paid by the Company : one at Baroda, supported in the same way : the church of N. S. los Remedios at Bassein, to the re-edification of which, in the year 1832, the Company contributed liberally ; a church at Poonah, with two priests, who enjoy stipends paid by the Company : one at Malwa ; one at Vingorla ; one at Viziadroog ; one at Rutnagherry, erected in 1822, with the aid of a grant from the Company, and one at Hurree.

Notwithstanding the forms and ceremonials of the Roman Catholic church approximate so closely to the Hindoo worship (as often observed to me by the late Rammohun Roy), there have been few converts to the Creed of Rome, and those who have become,

nominally, converts to the Catholic church, have relinquished, it is true, one faith, but without adopting another, while the principles of morality were too loose to stand as a substitute for religion.

By a Government regulation of 1831, any Hindoo who may become a convert to christianity does not forfeit rights of caste or inheritance, or any temporal advantages connected with caste. This is but just in a Christian government acting on the broadest principles of toleration. Thus when litigations for property or personal services appropriated as endowments for the support of the Hindoo or Mahomedan religion arise, the interference of the magistrate amounts to a direct recognition of rights connected with or growing out of the several religious distinctions of the party. British India can scarcely therefore be said to have a state religion,—it is tolerant, protective and auxiliary to each and every creed, allowing the light of reason and the convictions of truth to operate in every direction, unaided by physical force and unmolested by bigotry or fanaticism.

PROTESTANT CHURCH.—We may now proceed to observe how far the Established Church extends, promising that in this as in the foregoing instances, every aid has been furnished by the East India Company's government which could promote the cause of true religion and its concomitants—charity, peace, and happiness. The following detail shows, first, the state of the Established Church in Bengal, according to the latest return in 1830, and the expenses incurred there, from the date of Calcutta being made a bishop's see in 1814 to 1831.

Stations.	Congregations.	
	Civil.	Military.
Two Chaplains :		
Cathedral	650	...
Old Church	400	...
St. Janies's	260	...
Fort Church Calcutta	84	210
The Archdeacon acting :		
Dum Dum	...	700
Barrackpore	12	100
Chinsurah	144	310
Berhampore	...	275
Under 1 Chaplain :		
Dacca	20	
Chittagong	12	
Jelalpore	8	
Mymensing	8	
Tipperah or Barrisal	15	
Under 1 Chaplain :		uncertain.
Benares or Secrole	100	35
Chunar	250	...
Mirzapore	30	...
Jaunpore	40	...
Under 1 Chaplain :		
Patna	50	...
Muzzuferpore	24	...
Gyah	12	...
Dinapore	uncertain.	320
Allahabad	28	80
Under 1 Chaplain :		
Ghazeepore	uncertain.	380
Buxar	15	75
Saugor	40	116
Under 1 Chaplain :		
Agra	...	750
Muttra	...	100
Allyghur	...	60
Etawah	...	20
Under 1 Chaplain :		
Bareilly	...	60
Almorah	...	35
Havilbaugh	...	15
Moradabad	...	30
Shajehanpore	...	30
Under 1 Chaplain :		
Delhi	22	34
Rajapore	...	88
Meerut	108	1,530
Nusseerabad	...	60
Cawnpore	377	1,667
Under 1 Chaplain :		
Kurnaul	...	160
Loodianah	...	50
Hanse	...	30
Mhow	...	210
Cuttack	...	...

The returns of the congregations attending the churches at Neemuch, Boglepore, Cuttack, Futtyghur, Saugor, Howrah, and the chapel at the European Barracks, are not given.

Name or Station of Church, &c.	Expenditure for Construction, &c. g.c. to Febd. 1831.	Early Yearly Alluviance of Establishment for 1832-33	Name or Station of Church, &c.	Gorruckpore..... Ghazzeapore..... Dinapore..... Saugor..... Allaiabad..... Cuttack..... Chunar..... Berhampore..... Nusseerabad..... Ditto, New Church..... Chinsurah..... Kurnaul..... Neemuch..... Moradabad..... Boglepore..... Hansé..... Muttra..... Allyghur..... Dinagpore..... Seetole..... Furruckabad..... Bareilly	Monthly Alluviance of Establishment g.c. to Febd. 1831.	Expenditure for Construction, &c. g.c. to Febd. 1831.	Monthly Alluviance of Establishment g.c. to Febd. 1831.
					421 815 — 834 577 269 5,444 — 343 367 451 — 713 660 247 — 1,088 200 — — 78 — 16 — 1,104 218 834 137	421 815 — 834 577 269 5,444 — 343 367 451 — 713 660 247 — 1,088 200 — — 78 — 16 — 1,104 218 834 137	421 815 — 834 577 269 5,444 — 343 367 451 — 713 660 247 — 1,088 200 — — 78 — 16 — 1,104 218 834 137
Presidency:							
St. John's, the Cathedral.....	2,345	12,645	Gorruckpore.....	1,200	26,478	815	—
The Old or Mission Church.....	6,000	5,859	Ghazzeapore.....	29,913	—	—	—
St. Peter's Church.....	1,15,149	1,947	Dinapore.....	31,414	834	—	—
St. James's Church.....	63,005	3,276	Saugor.....	1,910	577	—	—
Room in General Hospital.....	12,038	—	Allaiabad.....	5,444	269	—	—
Barrackpore	—	387	Cuttack.....	—	—	—	—
Cawnpore	60,469	698	Chunar.....	—	—	—	—
Benares	11,601	631	Berhampore.....	—	367	—	—
Dacca	14,824	877	Nusseerabad.....	1,406	451	—	—
Dum Dum	58,444	1,647	Ditto, New Church	5,153	—	—	—
Agra	28,733	362	Chinsurah	4,654	713	—	—
Patna	—	137	Kurnaul.....	1,354	660	—	—
Meerut	54,697	2,092	Neemuch	302	247	—	—
Nomillah	24,255	—	Moradabad	—	—	—	—
Howrah	4,555	1,959	Boglepore	1,088	—	—	—
Mhow	502	206	Hansé	200	200	—	—
Nagpore	—	99	Muttra	—	—	—	—
Futtyghur	—	95	Allyghur	78	—	—	—
Burdwan	2,181	—	Dinagpore	—	—	—	—
			Seetole	—	—	—	—
			Furruckabad	—	—	—	—
			Bareilly	—	—	—	—

The foregoing tables are given (as are also several others in the large Second Edition of this Work) partly in order that more complete returns may in future be kept or prepared in India, in the statistics of which we are sadly deficient, the present being the first public effort to afford a complete view of Indian statistics.

An official letter from the Archdeacon of Bombay (10th Nov. 1831) thus details the state of the Protestant Church under that Presidency; *en passant*, it may be remarked that the number of chaplains allowed is fifteen, but in 1832 ten only were present, owing to sickness, &c.

Stations.	Number of Europeans.	Stations.	Number of Europeans.
1. St. Thomas's Church Bombay ...	—	10. Deesah.....	1,014
2. Bombay Garrison..	—	11. Ahmedabad	40
3. Colabah with Bom-bay Harbour.....	—	12. Baroda	38
4. Bycullah (New Church).	—	13. Tannah	60
5. Poonah	1,860	14. Belgaum	843
6. Kirkee	667	15. Darwar.....	30
7. Ahmednuggur	754	16. Surat.....	30
8. Malcom Peth	70 to 100	17. Sholapore.....	138
9. Dapooree.....	22	18. Bhooj	117
		19. Malligaum	54
		20. Rajcote.....	30

In the above statement, four chaplains are assigned to the islands of Bombay and Colabah, in conformity with the opinion of the late bishop, Dr. Turner.

Ecclesiastical Establishment of the Three Presidencies.

Bengal.	Madras.	Bombay.
The Lord Bishop, Archdeacon, and 37 Chaplains, Of whom 29 were pre- sent in 1830, and 8 ab- sent on furlough, &c.&c.	The Bishop, Archdeacon, and 23 Chaplains, Of whom 19 were pre- sent in 1830, and 4 ab- sent on furlough, &c.&c.	The Bishop, Archdeacon, and 14 Chaplains, Of whom 11 were pre- sent in 1830, and 3 ab- sent on furlough, &c.&c.

In a return before me of the expenses of the Bengal Ecclesiastical Establishment for the year 1832-1833, and which only arrived in England 5th Feb. 1835, I find that there were chaplains at Meerut, Messeerabad, Agra, Bareilly, Dacca, Kur-naul, Barrackpoor, Patna, Cawnpore, Chinsurah, Fur-ruckabad, Saugore, Benares, Dinapore, Mhow, Gha-zeepore, Neemuch, Berhampore, Allahabad, Dum Dum, Futtyghur and Chunar, all out stations from the Presidency. There were also four Roman Catholic priests paid by government for ministering to the soldiery, viz. at Calcutta, Patna, Berhampore and Cawnpore ; the total salaries of the bishop and clergy for 1832-33 was, 282,059 S. rupees ; of four Roman Catholic priests, 4,474 ; and of four ministers of the Scotch Church, 7,413 rupees.

The following statement exhibits the several missionary stations formed in India by the London, Baptist, and Wesleyan Societies, with the date of the year when the mission was established at each station, and the number of missionaries resident at each.

London Society, May 1835.—Calcutta, founded A.D. 1816, Missionaries, 2 ; Kidderpore, 3 ; Chinsurah, 1813, 1 ; Berhampore, 1824, 2 ; Moorshedabad, 1 ; Jurat, 1 ; Benares, 1820, 3 ; Madras, 1805, 3 (and

9 native assistants) ; Travancore, 1826, superintended by the Madras Missionaries ; Vizagapatam, 1805, 1 ; Cuddapah, 1822, 1 ; Chicacole, 1 ; Chittoor, 1827, 1 ; Belgaum, 1820, 2 ; Bellary, 1810, 4 ; Bangalore, 1820, 1 ; Salem, 1827, 2 ; Combaconum, 1825, 2 ; Coimbatoor, 1830, 1 ; Nagercoil, 1806, 2 ; Ne-yoor, 1828, 3 and 19 natives ; Quilon, 1821, 2 and 9 natives ; Surat, 1815, 3 ; Darwar, 1829, superintended by the Belgaum Missionaries.

Baptist Society, 1835.—Calcutta, 1801, Missionaries, 7 ; Chitpore, 1 ; Hourah, 1 ; Tabpore, 1 ; Patna, 1832, 1 ; Digar, 1809, 1 ; Monghyr, 1816, 2 ; Sewry, 1807, 1 ; Cutwa, 1804, 1 ; Luckyantipore, 1831, 1 ; Khane, 1831, 1 ; Bonstollah, 1829, 1 ; Mirzapore, 2.

The above is exclusive of the mission family at Serampore, which is in the Danish territory.

Wesleyan Society, May 1835.—Madras, 4 Europeans, with native assistants ; Bangalore, 3 ; Negapatam and Melnattam, 1.

I should be glad to see the Moravian Missionaries settling themselves in India. R. M. M.

It would be impossible to close this chapter on Christianity in India without referring to the translations of the sacred Scriptures into the several languages written and spoken on the peninsula of Hindoostan. The late Dr. W. Carey, of Serampore, was the most distinguished labourer in this field, the surprising extent of whose labours I will give on the authority of a memoir of this eminent missionary and philologist, by Mr. Fisher. The following is an account of Dr. Carey's philological works, from the same authority :—‘The Mahratta Grammar was his

first work, and was followed by a Sungskrit Grammar, 4to. in 1806 ; a Mahratta Dictionary, 8vo. in 1810 ; a Punjabee Grammar, 8vo. in 1812 ; a Telinga Grammar, 8vo. in 1814 ; also between the years 1806 and 1814 he published the Raymayana, in the original text, carefully collated with the most authentic MSS. in three volumes, 4to. His philological works of a later date are a Bengalee Dictionary, in three volumes, 4to. 1818, of which a second edition was published in 1825, and another in 8vo. in 1827-1830 ; a Bhotanta Dictionary, 4to. 1826 ; also a Grammar of the same language, edited by him and Dr. Marsham. He had also prepared a Dictionary of the Sungskrit, which was nearly completed, when a fire broke out in Serampore, and burnt down the printing office, destroying the impression together with the copy, and other property.' I refer, as below¹, for some interesting particulars of Dr. Carey's life and labours.

'The versions of the Sacred Scriptures which have issued from the Serampore press, and in the preparation of which Dr. Carey took an active and laborious part, are numerous. They are in the following languages :—Sungscrit, Hindoo, Brij-Bhassa, Mahratta, Bengalee, Orissa or Ooriya, Telinga, Kurnata, Maldivian, Gujurattee, Buloshee, Pushtoo, Punjabee or Shekh, Kashmeer, Assam, Burman, Pali or Magudha, Tamul, Cingalese, Armenian, Malay, Hindosthanee, and Persian ; to which must be added the Chinese. Dr. Carey lived to see the Sacred Text, chiefly by his

¹ See Gentleman's Magazine for May 1835.

instrumentality¹, translated into the vernacular dialects of more than 40 different tribes, and thus made accessible to nearly 200,000,000 of human beings, exclusive of the Chinese Empire, in which the labours of the Serampore Missionaries have been in some measure superseded by those of Dr. Morrison.'

In addition to the versions of the Sacred Scriptures in the languages of India, published by Dr. Carey, translations of the Old and New Testaments in the following languages have been completed by Missionaries sent out by the London Society :—

In the Telinga or Teloogoo, by Messrs. Cran, Des Granges, Pritchett, Gordon, and Howell, between 1812 and 1834.

In the Canarese, by Messrs. Reeve and Hands, between 1818 and 1832.

In the Mahratta, by Messrs. Wall and Newell.

In the Goojurattee, by Messrs. Skinner and Fyvie, between 1820 and 1832.

In the Hinduwee and Urdee, some books of the Old Testament, by Mr. Robertson.

Of many of these versions of the Scriptures very large editions have been printed and circulated; and it is impossible at the present moment fully to estimate the extent to which they may subserve that Missionary enterprise, the evangelization of India.

¹ To the Marquess Wellesley we owe the encouragement given by government to well-conducted missionaries in India; and under his lordship's auspices the Scriptures were translated by such good men as Dr. Carey (aided by learned Pandits) into almost every Oriental language.

CHAPTER VII.

THE LITERATURE, POETRY, LAW, DRAMA, MATHEMATICS, &c.
OF THE HINDOOS—THEIR ARCHITECTURE, SCULPTURE,
PAINTING, MUSIC, &c.—DOMESTIC ARTS, &c.

THE antiquity of the Hindoos is demonstrated by the ancientness, and in many instances the purity of their literary compositions.

Religious Works.—The Vedas (signifying knowledge) are, in every respect, the most important work of their ancient literature. They are the basis of their religion, and are appealed to as the foundation of all their social and political institutions. Only a small portion of them has hitherto been drawn to light, and, up to the present moment, the principal source of our information respecting them is a dissertation by Mr. Colebrook, printed in the eighth volume of the ‘Asiatic Researches.’

The Vedas are four in number: each Veda consisting of two parts, denominated the Mantras, or prayers, and the Brâhmanas, or precepts. The complete collection of the Mantras (or hymns, prayers, and invocations) belonging to one Veda is entitled its Sanhitâ. Every other portion of Indian scripture is included under the general head of divinity (Brâhma). This comprises precepts which inculcate religious duties, maxims which explain those precepts, and arguments which relate to theology¹.

¹ Asiatic Researches, vol. viii. p. 387, 388. Compare Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society, vol. i. p. 448, 449.

The whole of the Indian theology is professedly founded on tracts, likewise considered as parts of the Vedas, and denominated Upanishads. The proper meaning of this designation is doubtful : it is usually supposed to signify ‘ mystery ;’ but neither the etymology nor the usual acceptation of the word seems to warrant this interpretation¹.

The Mantras, or prayers, are the principal portion of each Veda, and apparently preceded the Brâhma-nas. Those of the Rig-Veda are metrical, and are recited aloud ; those of the Sâma-Veda are chaunted with musical modulation ; those of the Yajur-Veda are in prose, and are inaudibly recited. A table of contents, appended to the several Sanhitâs, states the name of the author of each prayer, that of the deity or being invoked, and if the prayer be in verse the number of stanzas and the metre. Indra, or the firmament, fire, the sun, the moon, water, air, the spirits, the atmosphere, and the earth are the objects most frequently addressed.

The following is Mr. Colebrooke’s literal translation of a single prayer from the Rig-Veda :—

¹ Asiatic Researches, vol. viii. p. 472. The Upanishads were translated into Persian by Sultan Dârâ-Shekûh, the eldest son of the Mogul emperor, Shâh-Jehân, and brother of Aurungzebe; who was born A.D. 1615, and was killed by Aurungzebe’s order in 1659. This Persian translation was again translated into Latin by Anquetil du Perron. (*Oupnekhat, id est, Secretum tegendum, &c.* Paris, 1801, 2 vols. 4to.) A free translation from the Sanscrit original of four of the shorter Upanishads may be found in Rammohun Roy’s ‘Translation of several principal Books, &c. of the Veds.’ London, 1832, 8vo.

'Guardian of this abode ! be acquainted with us ; be to us a wholesome dwelling ; afford us what we ask of thee : and grant happiness to our bipeds and quadrupeds. Guardian of this house ! increase both us and our wealth. Moon ! while thou art friendly, may we, with our kine and our horses, be exempted from decrepitude : guard us as a father protects his offspring. Guardian of this dwelling : may we be united with a happy, delightful, and melodious abode afforded by thee : guard our wealth now under thy protection, or yet in expectancy, and do thou defend us.' 'Every line,' observes Mr. Colebrooke, in speaking of the prayers of the Rig-Veda, 'is replete with allusions to mythology ; not a mythology which avowedly exalts deified heroes (as in the more recent legendary poems of the Hindoos), but one which personifies the elements and planets, and which peoples heaven and the world below with various orders of beings.' Mr. Colebrooke proceeds to say, that he has not remarked in these hymns any thing that corresponds with the favourite legends of those sects which worship either the Linga or Sacti, or else Râma or Krishna¹.

The difference of style alone would be sufficient to prove that in the Vedas, as they are now before us, books, treatises, and fragments belonging to different ages are put together. At what period the present arrangement was made we are as yet unable to determine, since our total want of authentic information

¹ See Asiatic Researches, vol. iii. p. 398.

respecting the history of India renders it altogether extremely difficult to ascertain the epoch of any of the ancient monuments of Sanscrit literature. From a passage stating the position of the solstitial points, which occurs in a sort of calendar appended to the Rig-Veda, Mr. Colebrooke has drawn the conclusion that this calendar must have been regulated during the fourteenth century¹; and part at least of the hymns in honour of the several deities, whose festivals this calendar was destined to regulate, now embodied in the Rig-Veda, must then have been already extant.

Legends.—The class of Sanscrit writings, next in importance to the Vedas, are the Purâñas, or legendary poems, similar, in some respects, to the Grecian theogonies. The Purâñas are said to be composed by Vyâsa, the compiler of the present collection of the Vedas. Each Purâna treats of five subjects;—the creation of the universe, its destruction, and the renovation of worlds; the *avatâras*, or manifestations of the supreme Deity; the genealogy of gods and heroes; chronology, according to a fabulous system; and heroic history, containing the achievements of demi-gods and heroes. Some of the Purâñas, being less obscure than the Vedas, are now very generally read and studied, and constitute the popular, or poetical creed of the present Hindoos. The principal Purânas are eighteen in number; their names are the Brahma, Padma, Brahmânda, Agni, Vishnu,

¹ Asiatic Researches, vol. iii. p. 491, &c.

Garuda, Brahmavaivarta, Siva, Linga, Náradíya, Skanda, Márkandeya, Bhavinhyat, Matsya, Varáha, Kúrma, Vámana, and Bhágavata Purána. They are reckoned to contain 400,000 stanzas. (Wilson, Mackenzie Collection, vol. i. p. 48.) There are also eighteen Upapuráñas, or similar poems of inferior sanctity and different appellations.

Poetry.—Two great epic poems, the Rámáyana and the Mahábhárata, are usually classed with the Puráñas. The Rámáyana, comprising 24,000 stanzas, divided into seven books, and written by the ancient poet Válmíki, records the adventures of Ráma, an incarnation of the god Vishnu, who was born as the son of Dasarat'ha king of Oude. The Mahábhárata is said to contain no less than 100,000 stanzas. Vyása, the supposed compiler of the Vedas and Puráñas, is said to be its author. It records the actions of Krishna, the last and most celebrated of the avatárs of Vishnu.

Law.—Books on law constitute another important branch of Sanscrit literature. The treatises coming under this designation may be divided into two classes: some consist of maxims or precepts, usually expressed in verse, put together into codes of greater or less extent, and attributed to various ancient sages, as their original and inspired authors; others consist either of comments on these traditional texts, elucidating and amplifying their import, and solving such difficulties as arise from apparent contradictions in different passages; or of systematic treatises, in which the several topics of Hindoo jurisprudence

are discussed according to logical arrangement, and passages from the ancient law-givers are adduced in support of the doctrines advanced.

The most distinguished work extant of the first class is undoubtedly the code generally known under the title of the Institutes of Menu. Numerous compilations of a similar nature exist, which are attributed to Gôtama, Nârada, Sanka, Likhita, Kâtyâyana, Yâjnawalkya, and other ancient sages. Among the commentaries on their codes, we shall here only mention the gloss of Kullûkabhattâ on the laws of Menu, and the ample commentary of Vijnânêswara on the Institutes of Yâjnawalkya, known in India under the title of the Mitâkshara : the latter work is the principal law authority, now followed by the Hindoo lawyers officially attached to the courts of justice in the Dekkan, and in the western provinces of Hindostan¹. Among the works on jurisprudence arranged on a free system, independent from the accidental succession of topics in the ancient compilations of legal precepts, we may notice the Viramitrôdaya of Mitramisra, the Dâyabhâga of Jîmûtvâhana, and the Digest of Jagannât'ha, as some of the most generally known².

Epic Poems.—The two great epic poems of the Hindoos, the Râmâyana and the Mahâbhârata, are written in a remarkably easy and natural kind of verse, and in a language which though sometimes highly expressive and energetic, generally bears the

¹ Rammohun Roy's Judicial System of India, p. 48.

² The two latter works are translated by Mr. Colebrooke.

character of the simplest narrative, and the tone of common conversation. There are, however, other Sanscrit poems, evidently belonging to a more modern age, and written in a style of artificial refinement, both as to language and versification.

The Drama.—The dramatic literature of the Hindoos became first known to the literary public of Europe through the translation of one of its greatest ornaments, the play of Sacontalâ, by Sir William Jones. The translation of the dramatised allegory, called Prabôdha Chandrôdaya, or ‘Rise of the Moon of Intellect,’ by Dr. Taylor of Bombay, was published in 1812, more calculated to throw light on the metaphysics than on the scenic literature of the Hindoos. In 1827, however, Mr. Wilson’s English translation of six new plays appeared¹, accompanied with a dissertation on the dramatic system of the Hindoos, and with some account of other extant Sanscrit dramas. Independently of other undeniable poetic merit of many parts, at least, of these compositions, they are highly interesting, as the most genuine pictures of Hindoo manners, and of the condition of society in Hindoostan previous to its conquest by foreign invaders. It deserves to be noticed, as a striking peculiarity of the Hindoo dramas, that different forms of speech are employed for different characters: the hero and the principal personages speaking Sanscrit; but women and the inferior

¹ Select Specimens of the Theatre of the Hindoos, by H. H. Wilson, Calcutta, 1827, 3 vols. 8vo. A new edition of this work has just been published (London, 1835, 2 vols. 8vo.)

characters using the various modifications of that language, which are comprehended under the term Prácrit. None of the Hindoo plays at present known can boast of a very high antiquity, and nearly all appear to have been composed at a period when the Sanscrit had ceased to be the colloquial medium. ‘They must therefore,’ observes Mr. Wilson, ‘have been unintelligible to a considerable portion of the audience, and never could have been so directly addressed to the bulk of the population as to have exercised much influence upon their passions or their tastes. This circumstance, however, is perfectly in harmony with the constitution of Hindoo society, by which the highest branches of literature, as well as the highest offices in the state, were reserved for the privileged tribes of Kshatriyas and Brahmins.’ To the unities of time and place the dramatic poets of India have paid but little attention : they are not however, destitute of certain rules ; and many Hindoo writers have endeavoured to reduce to a system the technicalities of dramatic composition. The Hindoos had no separate edifices appropriated to dramatic representations, nor do they appear to have possessed any complicated scenic apparatus. In the palaces of kings there was a hall or saloon, in which dancing and singing were practised and sometimes exhibited, and this room was fitted up on purpose for dramatic entertainments¹. Plays were only occasionally en-

¹ At the English theatre at Chouringee, Calcutta, a large part of the audience is composed of the most respectable of the Hindoo gentry.

acted at seasons peculiarly sacred to some divinity, or at royal coronations, marriages, and other public occasions ; and this circumstance accounts partly for the limited number, and partly for the great length of those Hindoo dramas, which have been preserved to us.

Fables.—The popular collection of fables, commonly known in Europe under the name of the ‘Fables of Pilpay,’ are of Indian origin. The Sanscrit original has now been ascertained to be the Panchatantra, a work so called from its being divided into five tantras, or sections, and probably compiled in the fifth century of our era. It consists of stories told in prose, but interspersed with moral maxims, and other sentences in verse, many of which have been borrowed from other authors, and can be traced to their original sources¹.

The Arabian Nights were long considered to have been originally composed in the Arabic language ; but, latterly, some at least of the most enchanting tales embodied in that collection, have been discovered to be of Indian origin, and the Sanscrit to which they have recently been traced, is a voluminous collection of stories known in India under the title of the Vrihatkat'hâ². Magic and conjuration is practised in several parts of India.

During the Marquess Wellesley’s equally splendid

¹ See Mr. Wilson’s account of the Panchatantra, Trans. of the Royal Asiatic Society, vol. i. p. 155, &c.

² See the (Calcutta) Quarterly Oriental Magazine, June, 1825, p. 250, &c. ; and March, 1824, p. 68, &c. Wilson’s Theatre of the Hindoos, vol. ii. p. 138.

and beneficent government of British India, his Lordship, with his usual attention to every point, however minute, ordered an inquiry into the state of the gaols. From the manuscript report to the Governor General, I derive the following account of the conjuror's ordeal, and subjoin it, as various kinds of ordeal have been in use in every age in different countries. The reporter appointed by government thus proceeds :—

' When any property is stolen, and the theft is supposed to have been committed by the servants, or dependants of the house, in which the robbery has taken place, it was formerly the general custom, and the practice still prevails, to send for the conjuror.

As this man's own account, is not only characteristic of the manners and customs of the natives, but also curious in itself, a translation is given from his own words.

My name is Sheikh Khyrulla; my profession, to detect thieves, and bring them to punishment.

My uncle was employed under Mr. Playdell, and was called the ordeal priest.

I am not employed as a monthly servant, but occasionally act, by order of the justices of the peace. I receive a pension of twenty rupees per mensen from government: but have no settled fee, neither do I always receive a gratuity, for my trouble.

Formerly there was only one mode of ordeal used; it was the enchanted rice. I seldom resort to this, as there are several others, which I prefer to it, viz.

'The enchanted arrows.'—When I am sent for, to detect a robbery, I first have all the persons of the house drawn up in a line before me, and examine their countenances, in which, from long habit, I can generally trace marks of guilt, and form some opinion who the offender is. The eyes of the guilty person become flushed. The vein on his forehead, becomes dilated, his pulse irregular, the palpitation at his breast great, and accompanied by a kind of fever. The consciousness of guilt, and the dread of detection, prevents the offender from looking up. Near the artery usually felt by medical men, is a small one, over which the emotions of the mind produce a more sensible influence. Terror affects its motion. The presence of the person robbed, and of several other spectators, adds to the confusion of the criminal.

Having fixed my suspicions, I take down all the names, and hint that I have hopes of ascertaining the thief. If he does not come forward, I commence the ceremony of the enchanted arrow.

I take four arrows, and lock the notches of the shafts in each other. Two men standing face to face, hold the opposite ends of them, passed under their arms. A text of the Koran is then uttered, and the arrows are breathed upon. The genii, whose department it is to watch over the human species, are invoked, and each of the persons present, is invited to put his hand between the arrows. They close on the hand of the offender, who upon this generally confesses his guilt, and delivers up the stolen property.

But if the criminal is old, and hardened, I am obliged to have recourse to other operations, viz.

The ceremony of the enchanted vase.—I write the names of the four angels, Gabriel, Michael, Israfeel and Azraeel¹, on a new earthen vase, and place it with its mouth upwards, on the closed hands of two indifferent persons, and perform certain religious ceremonies over it. The names of all the accused or the suspected, are written on slips of paper, and thrown one by one, into the vase. When the name of the thief is put in, the vase will turn round. If he does not confess, I must resort to,

The ceremony of the enchanted shoe.—I take an old shoe, which has lain in the public road, and been stepped over by persons born under the different signs of the Zodiac. A shoemaker's awl is stuck into it, on the point of which it is suspended; while the handle of the awl is held between the fingers of two indifferent persons, standing face to face. I utter a text of the Koran, and breathe upon the shoe. When the name of the thief is placed upon the shoe, it will drop down.

The enchanted razor.—The accused and suspected, are forbidden to shave their heads, they are ordered to bathe themselves, and to range themselves in a line, sitting. I utter a text from the Koran, breathe upon the razor, and with it, shave my thigh. The thief's hair falls off his head, and he is detected.

¹ This is according to the Koran, Gabriel is called the holy spirit, Michael the angel of revelation and friend to the Jews; Israfeel the angel of the resurrection, and Azreel the angel of death.—*Montg. Martin.*

The enchanted bag.—I utter as many verses from the Koran, as days in the week are passed, and blow a new leathern bag, until it is tight. The thief's belly swells in proportion, and he roars out with the pain.

'*The enchanted stone.*—I take a new wicker basket, which I place upon the ground, and put fresh rice in the husk into it. On that I put an unbaked earthen platter, and over the platter, a large stone. An indifferent person stands on the stone, and receives one by one, the names of the suspected persons written as before on slips of paper. When the name of the guilty is put into his hand, the stone turns round with him.

The enchanted staff.—A China shoe flower and some earth procured at the excavation of a well, are prepared by a text from the Koran, and by breathing upon them; after which they are introduced into the hollow extremities of a piece of bamboo, containing three or five knots, and cut about three inches from the exterior knots. The bamboo thus charged, is put into the hands of an indifferent person (the parties suspected being present), and called upon to do its duty. If the thief be present, the bamboo becomes much agitated, and notwithstanding the exertions of the holder, proceeds by short springs towards the guilty.

The enchanted nails.—On the day previous to the performance of this ordeal, I take to my own house some linseed oil, over which I utter a text, and blow upon it three times. I also fix upon a boy, who lives near the person robbed, knows the

names and persons of the suspected, and was born when the sun was in Libra. Thus prepared, I assemble on the next day all the suspected, and a spot is cleared away and washed. The boy who has been kept fasting, and has bathed, is seated on the spot so cleansed. I burn incense, and invoke the genii. The boy is directed to join his fists, keeping his thumbs upwards. His thumb nails are smeared with the enchanted oil, taken up on a glass called Doorbha. Red coloured flowers are placed under his thumbs and he is desired to declare what he sees in his nails. After many strange sights, he says, that he sees a person with his hands tied behind him : the boy names him, if he knows him ; if not he is directed to look among the persons present, and fix upon the thief.

The enchanted basin.—A tutenague or brass basin containing two pounds, is filled with one pound of barley, and the same quantity of pease, placed for a night in a clean spot, in the house of the person robbed, where a text from the Koran is uttered eleven times over it, and another text is written upon it.

On the morrow the suspected persons are assembled before the basin, and a person born when the sun was in Libra, is desired to hold it. If the thief be present the basin moves towards him ; if he refuses to confess, it proceeds to the spot where the stolen property has been placed.

Another mode of using the basin.—The person robbed, must on a Tuesday or Saturday go to the temple of the goddess Cali, and after presenting an offering, bring away five, seven, or nine flowers,

from the neck of the goddess. The flowers are placed in the basin, as the barley and pease were; rice taken from the husk, by beating it, without steeping, must be placed round the basin, and mustard seed, previously consecrated by a text, be sprinkled over it. The same operation is to be observed on the morrow, as in the foregoing instance, and the effect is similar. But this method can be practised on no other day than Sunday.

The enchanted stick.—A bamboo of a particular class must be cut below the lowest knot, which is usually double, and is called the *uncle and nephew*, and split without hurting the eyes on each knot, from whence twigs spring out. These dissevered parts, are to be shaved to a moderate thickness, and reduced to nine or eleven knots.

On the evening previous to the trial, the bamboos must be taken to the water side, and placed upon two brass vessels filled with river or pond water, of which vessels one has the figures of Raam and his brother Lacshman, drawn upon it. The bamboos are then rubbed with a particular kind of grass, replaced on the vessels with a text uttered over them, and besmeared on each knot, with red sanders oil, and a Toolsee leaf; after this they are immersed in water for the night.

In the morning I take the bamboos and the vessels to the house of the person robbed, place the former under the arms of two indifferent persons facing each other, and desire them to hold them asunder in their closed fists. I stand near the bamboos, one hand containing a sprig of

Toolsee, the other holding a brass vessel filled with Ganges water, copper, and Toolsee leaf. With the water, I moisten the sprig, and besprinkle the bamboos and their holders, saying to the bamboos, "Close together if a theft has been committed; separate if it has not." They act accordingly; I then call upon them to attest the veracity of their deed, and they move towards the Ganges water. I order them to proceed to the thief; they do so: they carry their holders along, and seize the criminal by the neck. If he does not confess, the bamboos advance with his neck still confined between them, until they arrive at the place where the property has been concealed.

If instead of the text used above, a verse from the Koran is uttered, and the bamboos employed without shaving them, danger frequently follows, and the thief is strangled.

'The enchanted rice.'—The accused being assembled, are placed at a distance from each other, a certain text from the Koran is to be pronounced eleven times, and another particular text, three times over rice, taken from the husk without boiling. It is then to be weighed with a rupee, bearing the names of Abubekur, Omur, Osman, and Alli, and given to each of the accused to chew and spit out. The guilty cannot chew it, the rice becomes dry, the criminal's tongue parched, and if the property be still in his possession, blood flows from his tongue.

I never use the rice without previous trial of other methods. If the rice confirms my suspicions,

drawn from the other ordeals, I do not hesitate to conclude that the thief is found.

Although these methods generally succeed, yet there are instances of failure, either from venality in the performer, from want of confidence in his art, or misplaced pity towards the offender.

The hardness and subtlety of the guilty, will also sometimes defeat the skill of the ordeal priest, who although convinced by repeated trials, that he has fixed upon the real thief, cannot always trace the property to the place of concealment, as he has it not always in his power to obtain such leading circumstances as will support his suspicions, and carry inquiry to conviction.

Instances of success in detecting thieves.—About the year 1780, Quarter-master Gillespie missed 120 gold mohurs. I was sent to discover who had committed the theft.

The money was kept in an escrutoire, and locked up in a large chest, of which the key was in possession of one of Mr. Gillespie's servants, named Meerun. I examined one hundred and twenty persons belonging to the family, and could not discover guilt in any countenance. I inquired if any other persons came to the house, and learnt that a boy called Rowshun came occasionally. I discovered by the vase that he had committed the theft, but knew not who he was. I informed Mr. Gillespie that I suspected Rowshun, and that he had taken the keys from under Meerun's pillow while he slept.

Mr. Gillespie sent me with a letter to Sir Elijah

Impey, in whose service Rowshun was, and ordered Meerun to accompany me.

I went, delivered the letter, was abused by Sir Elijah, and would have been horse-whipped by Lady Impey, if Mr. Newman and her ladyship's brother had not prevented it. At last the boy was called; I observed guilt in his countenance. I taxed him with the theft; he accused me of injuring his character; I examined his chest and found no money, and was ordered into custody. After this Sir Elijah asked the boy if he had ever been at Mr. Gillespie's; he replied, "Never," this convinced me of his guilt, as it assured the chief justice of his innocence.

I was sent under a guard to Mr. Gillespie's; Mr. Newman, accompanied by Rowshun and many others, attended me. It was proved that the boy had been there often; I was set at liberty and engaged to produce the property in three days.

If a certain text of the Koran is pronounced one hundred and one times over the name of the thief, and the name is then thrown into the fire and burnt, the guilty person will experience great distress of mind, and he will unbosom his secret to somebody.

I performed this ceremony over Rowshun's name, and he confessed the theft, saying that he had spent twenty gold mohurs, and had buried the rest in a place he described. I went to the spot, and in the presence of Sir Elijah, and Lady Impey, of Mr. Gillespie, and several others, took out the money. The boy acknowledged his crime, was privately punished, and sent to England.

About the year 1782, a shawl belonging to Mrs.

Hastings, was lost out of the room in which she had been sitting. I was sent for, and found that a woman who waited on Mrs. Hastings was the person most likely to have committed the theft. The woman denied, a search was made, and the shawl found concealed in some dirty linen, rolled up as if prepared for delivery to the washerman. Upon this the woman confessed her guilt, and Mrs. Hastings ordered me to be invested with a robe of honour, and gave me the pension of twenty rupees per mensem, which I now enjoy.

Mr. Speke lost forty-three gold mohurs, and was induced by some circumstances to suspect his head and mate bearers of the theft; I was sent for. All the bearers were assembled, and I found all innocent. I requested, and obtained leave to examine all the other servants, though not without difficulty, on Mr. Speke's part, who was apprehensive that I might charge the guiltless, and especially as particular circumstances made him think I had overlooked the guilty.

Among the servants was a boy named Hackim, the son of an old and favourite servant, on whose death, Mr. Speke had taken charge of the boy, and allowed him eight rupees per month. I observed this lad retire from the line, I called him forward, he trembled, I felt his pulse, it was irregular, I put my hand to his bosom, and found his heart in extreme agitation. This was mentioned to Mr. Speke, who would not believe that the boy, whom he had treated in the kindest manner, could prove so ungrateful as to rob him.

I went home, performed the usual ceremonies with

Hackim's name, and was convinced of his guilt. On the next day I went to Mr. Speke's, and learnt that thirty-nine and a half gold mohurs were found. On seeing me, Hackim fled ; he was followed, and confessed the whole affair. I was sent for to Mr. Bris-tow's, who had lost a gold surpoosh, worth eighteen gold mohurs. I discovered the thief, and found the property buried in the garden. Fifty gold mohurs, not stamped, were stolen out of a bag, kept in a chest under four locks. I was sent for by Mr. James Miller, the Mint master, to discover the thief. I discovered the thief by his look and gestures ; I began the ordeal of the enchanted sticks ; they were approaching him when he confessed his guilt, and disclosed how the robbery had been committed.

A shawl, and a shawl handerchief, were stolen out of Colonel Hardy's quarters in Fort William. I was sent for. The enchanted sticks caught an Aubdar; he would not confess ; his house was searched by the colonel's people, who returned saying, that they had found the property, and that the Aubdar who had accompanied them was run away.

A pearl necklace belonging to Lady Shore was missing. I discovered it to have been stolen by a woman who waited on her Ladyship, and by means of the enchanted sticks, found it under a chair cushion.'

*Remark by the reporter*¹.—Several offenders have

¹ This paper has been given at great length, that the system adopted in India may be compared with those ordeals used in other countries, and as an illustration of the effect of conscience over man.—R. M. M.

been brought to trial in the present sessions by means of this conjuror, who is a shrewd, intelligent man.'

Arithmetic.—The decimal system of the rotation of numerals, now generally in use among us, is an Indian invention, which was probably communicated to the Arabians through the Hindoo mathematicians and astronomers, who visited Bagdad during the reigns of the earlier Abbaside caliphs; and Gerbert of Aurillac, subsequently raised to the papal throne as Pope Sylvester II. (died A.D. 1003,) who had studied in the Arabian universities of Seville and Cordova, in Spain, is usually supposed to have first introduced it into Europe. To the Hindoos the Arabians also appear to be indebted for their first knowledge of algebra. The earliest extant Arabic treatise on algebra¹, confirms by internal evidence the supposition previously entertained by Cossali, Hutton, and others, that the art of solving problems by reduction and equation had not originated among the Arabians, but had been communicated to them from India. The principal Indian writers on algebra and arithmetic generally, are Aryabhatta (in the fifth century of our era,) Brahmagupta (who wrote about A.D. 628), and Bhāskara (in the twelfth century²).

Astronomy appears, from an early period, to have

¹ By Mahomed ben Musa, who wrote during the reign of the Abbaside caliph Mamun, in the earlier part of the ninth century of our era. An edition and translation of his elementary treatise on Algebra was published three years ago by the Oriental Translation Committee.

² See Colebrooke's Algebra, with Arithmetic and Mensura-

been cultivated by the Hindoos for the regulation of time. It seems probable that the astronomy of the Hindoos was originally as independent from that of the Greeks as their early proficiency in algebra; although no doubt can be entertained that, at a period when astronomy had already made some progress among them, they received hints from the astronomical schools of the Greeks¹. The number of astronomical works in the Sanscrit language is considerable: the most celebrated among them are the Sûryasiddhânta of Varâhamihira, who, to judge from the position of the colures in his work, must have written in the latter part of the fifth century of our era²; the Brahma-siddhânta of Brahmagupta, who is supposed to have written about A.D. 636³; and the Siddhânta-sirômani of Bhâskara, which was completed in A.D. 1150⁴. ‘The Hindoos place the earth in the centre of the world, and make the sun, and moon, and minor planets revolve round it, apparently in concentric orbits, with unequal or irregular motion. For a physical explanation of the phenomena, they imagine the planets driven by currents of air along their respective orbits (besides one great vortex carrying stars and planets with pro-

tion, from the Sanscrit of Brahmagupta and Bhâskara. London, 1817, 4to.

¹ Colebrooke’s Algebra, &c., Dissert. p. 24; Whish, on the Origin and Antiquity of the Hindoo Zodiac, in the transactions of the Literary Society of Madras, part i. p. 63, &c.

² See Davis on the Astronomical Computations of the Hindoos; Asiatic Researches, vol. ii. p. 225—286.

³ Asiatic Researches, vol. vi. p. 586; Colebrooke’s Algebra, from the Sanscrit, &c., Dissertation, p. 6.

⁴ Asiatic Researches, vol. xii. p. 221, note.

digious velocity round the earth, in the compass of a day.) The winds or currents, impelling the several planets, communicate to them velocities, by which their motion should be equable, and in the plane of the ecliptic; but the planets are drawn from this course by certain controlling powers, situated at the apogees, conjunctions and nodes. These powers are clothed by Hindoo imaginations with celestial bodies invisible to human sight, and furnished with hands and reins, by which they draw the planets from their direct path and uniform progress. The being at the apogee, for instance, constantly attracts the planet towards itself, alternately, however, with the right and left hands. The deity at the node diverts the planet, first to one side then to the other, from the ecliptic; and, lastly, the deity at the conjunction causes the planet to be one while stationary, another while retrograde, and to move at different times with velocity accelerated or retarded. These fancied beings are considered as invisible planets, the nodes and apogees having a motion of their own in the ecliptic. This whimsical system, more worthy of the mythologist than of the astronomer, is gravely set forth in the *Suryasiddhanta*; and even Bhāskara gives it, though not without indications of reluctant acquiescence. To explain on mathematical principles the irregularity of the planetary motions, the Hindoo astronomers remove the earth from the centre of the planet's orbit, and assume the motion in that excentric to be really equable, though it appear irregular as viewed from the earth.¹ Mr. Colebrooke, after a

¹ Colebrooke, *Asiat. Res.* vol. xii. p. 233, 234.

minute investigation of the notions of the Hindoo astronomers, concerning the precession of the equinoxes, arrives at the conclusion that on this subject the Hindoos had a theory which, though erroneous, was their own; that they had a knowledge of the true doctrine of an uniform motion in antecedentia, at least 700 years ago, and that they had approximated to the true ratio of that motion much nearer than Ptolemy, before the Arabian astronomers, and as near the truth as these have ever done since¹. ‘ Their calendar, both civil and religious, was governed chiefly, not exclusively, by the moon and sun, and the motions of these luminaries were carefully observed by them ; and with such success, that their determination of the moon’s synodical revolution, which they were principally concerned with, is a much more correct one than the Greeks ever achieved². ’

Philosophy. The various systems of Hindoo philosophy are in some instances considered orthodox, as consistent with the theology of the Vedar ; such are the two *Mimánsâ* schools : others are deemed heretical, as incompatible with the sacred writings of the Hindoos ; such are the *Nyâya* and the *Vaiséshika*

¹ Asiat. Res. vol. xii. p. 220, &c. ‘ Some of the most celebrated Hindoo astronomers, as Brahmagupta, have been silent on the subject of a change in the places of the colures, or have denied their regular periodical motion. Others, as Manjâla and Bhâskara, have asserted a periodical revolution of the colures ; but the greater number of celebrated writers, and all the modern Hindoo astronomers, have affirmed a libration of the equinoctial points.’ Ibid. p. 217.

² Colebrooke’s Algebra, &c., Dissertation, p. 22.

systems ; others again are partly heterodox, and partly conformable to the established Hindoo creed ; such are the *Sāṅkhya* and *Yōga*. The two *Mīndasas* (for there are two schools of metaphysics under this title) comprise the complete system of interpretation of the precepts and doctrine of the Vedas, both practical and theological. The prior *Mīmānsā* (*Pūrvamīmānsā*, or *Karma Mīmānsā*), which has Jaimini for its founder, teaches the art of reasoning, with the express view of aiding the interpretation of the Vedas : its scope is the ascertainment of duties and religious observances prescribed in the sacred books. ‘ It is not directly a system of philosophy, nor chiefly so ; but, in course of delivering canons of scriptural interpretation, it incidentally touches upon philosophical topics ; and scholastic disputants have elicited from its dogmas principles of reasoning applicable to the prevailing points of controversy agitated in the Hindoo schools of philosophy ¹. ’ The latter *Mīmānsā* (*Uttaramīmānsā*, or *Brahma Mīmānsā*), which is attributed to *Vyāsa*, is usually called *Vedānta*, i. e. ‘ the conclusion, end, or scope of the Veda,’ and consists in a refined psychology, deduced chiefly from the Upanishads, which goes to a denial of a material world ².

‘ The *Nyāya*, of which Gôtama is the acknowledged

¹ Colebrooke, Trans. R. Asiat. Soc. vol. i. p. 19, 439, &c.

² See Colebrooke, Trans. R. Asiat. Soc. vol. ii. p. 1, &c. Rammohun Roy’s ‘ Translation of an Abridgment of the Vedant,’ in his ‘ Translation of several Books, &c. of the Veds,’ p. 1—22. F. H. H. Windischmann, *Sancara sive de Theologumenis Vedanticorum*. Bonn, 1833, 8vo.

author, furnishes a philosophical arrangement, with strict rules of reasoning, not unaptly compared to the dialectic of the Aristotelian school. Another course of philosophy connected with it bears the denomination of *Vaiseshika*. Its reputed author is Kanâde, who, like Democritus, maintained the doctrine of atoms. A different philosophical system, partly heterodox, and partly conformable to the established Hindoo creed, is the *Sankhya*; of which also, as of the preceding, there are two schools—one usually known by that name, the other commonly termed *Yoga*¹. The former was founded by Kapila, the latter by *Patanjali*. The two schools differ upon one point, which is the most important of all—the proof of the existence of God. The school of *Patanjali* recognises God, and is, therefore, denominated the theistical *Sankhya*; that of Kapila is atheistical, inasmuch as it acknowledges no Creator of the Universe, nor Supreme Ruling Providence. The gods of Kapila are beings superior to man; but, like him, subject to change and transmigration².

The preceding remarks have reference to that portion of the literature of the Hindoos which is written in the Sanscrit language, partly because it is the most important and classical branch of it, and partly because the literature, extant in the various vernacular dialects of India, has not yet sufficiently been explored. As far as our present knowledge extends,

¹ Colebrooke, l. c. vol. i. p. 19.

² Colebrooke, Trans. R. Asiatic Soc. vol. i. p. 19, 25, &c.; Lassen's *Gymnosophista*, fascic. i. Bonn, 1832, 4to.

the majority of the works written in the Hindi, Bengali, Mahratta, Tamul, and Teloogoo languages consists in translations or imitations of compositions in the Sanscrit¹. It is a remarkable fact, that no strictly historical works, of a date anterior to the conquest of northern India by the Mohammedans, have yet been discovered in any Indian language².

The heraldry of Europe has evidently derived its origin from the East; and it was intimately associated with religion and superstition. Maurice observes, that by the same hardy race, the descendants of the Tartar tribes which tenanted the north of Asia, were introduced into Europe armorial bearings, which were originally nothing more than hieroglyphical symbols, mostly of a religious allusion, that distinguished the banners of the potentates of Asia. The eagle belongs to the ensign of Vishna, the bull to that of Siva, and the falcon to that of Rama. The sun rising behind a recumbent lion blazed on the ancient ensign of the Tartar, and the eagle of the sun on that of the Persians. The Humza, a famous goose, one of the incarnations of Boodha, is yet the chief emblem of Burman banners. The Russians, no doubt, had their standard from the eastern nations;

¹ See Ward's View, &c. of the Hindoos, vol. iv. p. 476—482 (3rd edition); Wilson's Catalogue of the Mackenzie Collection, 2 vols. 8vo. Calcutta, 1828; Biographical Sketches of Dekkan Poets, by Cavelly Venkata Ramaswamie, Calcutta, 1829, 8vo.

² The only exception to this remark that could perhaps be adduced, is the poetic Sanscrit Chronicle of Cashmere, an account of which is given by Mr. Wilson in the 16th volume of the Asiatic Researches.

it is the type of Garuda. The Islamites took the crescent, a fit emblem either of a rising or declining empire, and of their primeval worship.

ARCHITECTURE.—The sacred buildings of Hindostan have long been the theme of admiration, and the Mahometan conquerors of India seem to have vied with the Hindoos in the magnitude and beauty of their structures. The most ancient temples are probably those excavated in the sides of mountains ; one of the earliest of which is the Cave of Elephanta, situate in an island of the same name in the Bay of Bombay¹.

'The entrance into this temple, which is entirely hewn out of a stone resembling porphyry, is by a spacious front supported by two massy pillars and two pilasters forming three openings, under a thick and steep rock, overhung by brushwood and wild shrubs. The long ranges of columns that appear closing in perspective on every side ; the flat roof of solid rock, that seems to be prevented from falling only by the massy pillars, whose capitals are pressed down and flattened as if by the superincumbent weight ; the darkness that obscures the interior of the temple, which is dimly lighted only by the entrances ; and the gloomy appearance of the gigantic stone figures ranged along the wall, and hewn, like the whole temple, out of the living rock,—joined to the strange uncertainty that hangs over the history

¹ Elephanta Isle, seven miles from Bombay castle, is about six miles in circumference, and composed of two long hills, with a narrow valley between them.

of this place,—carry the mind back to distant periods, and impress it with that kind of uncertain and religious awe with which the grander works of ages of darkness are generally contemplated.

‘The whole excavation consists of three principal parts; the great temple itself, which is in the centre, and two smaller chapels, one on each side of the great temple. These two chapels do not come forward into a straight line with the front of the chief temple, are not perceived on approaching the temple, and are considerably in recess, being approached by two narrow passes in the hill, one on each side of the grand entrance, but at some distance from it. After advancing to some distance up these confined passes, we find each of them conduct to another front of the grand excavation, exactly like the principal front which is first seen; all the three fronts being hollowed out of the solid rock, and each consisting of two huge pillars with two pilasters. The two side fronts are precisely opposite to each other on the E. and W., the grand entrance facing the N. The two wings of the temple are at the upper end of these passages, and are close by the grand excavation, but have no covered passage to connect them with it¹.’

From the northern entrance to the extremity of this cave is about $130\frac{1}{2}$ feet, and from the eastern to the western side about 133. Twenty-six pillars (of which eight are broken) and 16 pilasters support the roof. Neither the floor nor the roof is in the same plane,

¹ Mr. W. Erskine, in the Bombay Literary Transactions.

and consequently the height varies, being in some parts $17\frac{1}{2}$, in others 15 feet. Two rows of pillars run parallel to one another from the northern entrance and at right angles to it, to the extremity of the cave; and the pilasters, one of which stands on each side of the two front pillars, are followed by other pilasters and pillars also, forming on each side of the two rows already described, another row, running parallel to them up the southern extremity of the cave. The pillars on the eastern and western front, which are like those on the northern side, are also continued across from E. to W.; thus the ranges of pillars form a number of parallel lines, intersecting one another at right angles; the pillars of the central parts being considered as common to the two sets of intersecting lines. The pillars vary both in size and decorations, and all the walls are covered with reliefs referring to Hindoo mythology.

Mr. Mill speaks slightly (as he generally did of everything Indian) of Elephanta, as a cave of no extraordinary structure, and describes the pillars as ‘pieces of the rock, as is usual in mining, left at certain distances supporting the superincumbent matter.’ but many persons of taste, who have visited Elephanta, entertain a very different opinion. Goldingham mentions among the sculptures the beautiful figure of a youth, and, in another group, a male ‘leading a female towards a majestic figure seated in a corner of the niche, his head covered like our judges on the bench; the countenance and attitude of the female highly expressive of modesty, and a timid reluctance.’ Further on he adds, ‘the part of

this surprising monument of human skill and perseverance hitherto described is generally called the Great Cave; its length is 135 feet, and its breadth nearly the same.' 'Gigantic as the figures are,' he says, 'the mind is not disagreeably moved on viewing in them a certain indication of the harmony of the proportions. Having measured three or four, and examined the proportions by the scale we allow the most correct, I found many stood even this test, while the disagreements were not equal to what are met with every day in people whom we think by no means ill-proportioned¹.' Another traveller, who has left us an entertaining account of Western India, observes that 'the principal temple and adjoining apartments are 220 feet long, and 150 broad; in these dimensions exceeding the largest work at Salsette²; but being very inferior in height, notwithstanding the numerous and richer decorations at Elephanta, the spectator is constantly reminded of being in a cave. At Salsette the lofty concave roof and noble columns have a majestic appearance; yet the observer feels more surprise and admiration at Elephanta than at Salsette: he beholds four rows of massive columns cut out of the solid rock, uniform in their order, and placed at regular distances, so as to form three magnificent avenues from the principal entrance to the grand idol, which terminates the middle vista; the general effect being heightened by

¹ Goldingham, Asiatic Researches, vol. iv. p. 424—434.

² An island also in Bombay Bay, with an extensive rock-cut temple.

the blueness of the light, or rather gloom, peculiar to the situation. The central image is composed of three colossal heads, reaching nearly from the floor to the roof, a height of 15 feet¹.

The accomplished Heber says, ‘the great cavern is deserving all the praise which has been lavished on it.’ ‘Though my expectations were highly raised, the reality much exceeded them, and both the dimensions, the proportions, and the sculpture seemed to me to be of a much more noble character, and a more elegant execution than I had been led to suppose. Even the statues are executed with great spirit, and are some of them of no common beauty, considering their dilapidated condition, and the coarseness of their material².’

Of the cave temples of Kennery, in the island of Salsette, the same excellent authority observes:—‘These are, certainly, in every way remarkable, from their number, their beautiful situation, their elaborate carving, and their marked connexion with Buddha and his religion. The caves are scattered over two sides of a high rocky hill, at many different elevations, and of various sizes and forms. Most of them appear to have been places of habitation for monks or hermits. One very beautiful apartment, of a square form, its walls covered with sculpture, and surrounded internally by a broad stone bench, is called ‘the durbar,’ but I should rather guess had been a school. Many have deep and well-carved

¹ Forbes, Oriental Memoirs, vol. i. p. 429, 430.

² Narrative of a Journey, &c. vol. iii. p. 79, 80.

cisterns attached to them, which, even in this dry season (May) were well supplied with water. The largest and most remarkable of all is a Buddhist temple, of great beauty and majesty, and which even in its present state would make a very stately and convenient place of Christian worship. It is entered through a fine and lofty portico, having on its front, but a little to the left hand, a high detached octagonal pillar, surmounted by three lions seated back to back. On each side of the portico is a colossal statue of Buddha, with his hands raised in the attitude of benediction, and the screen which separates the vestibule from the temple is covered, immediately above the dado, with a row of male and female figures, nearly naked, but not indecent, and carved with considerable spirit, which apparently represent dancers. In the centre of the semicircle, and with a free walk all round it, is a mass of rock left solid, but carved externally like a dome, and so as to bear a strong general likeness to our Saviour's sepulchre, as it is now chiselled away and enclosed in St. Helena's Church at Jerusalem. On the top of the dome is a sort of spreading ornament, like the capital of a column. It is, apparently intended to support something, and I was afterwards told at Carli, where such an ornament, but of greater size, is likewise found, that a large gilt umbrella used to spring from it. This solid dome appears to be the usual symbol of Buddhist adoration, and, with its umbrella ornament, may be traced in the Shoo-Madoo of Pegu, and other more remote structures of the same faith. Though it is different in its form and style of orna-

ment from the Lingam, I cannot help thinking it has been originally intended to represent the same popular object of that almost universal idolatry. The ceiling of this cave is arched semicircularly, and ornamented, in a very singular manner, with slender ribs of teak-wood of the same curve with the roof, and disposed as if they were supporting it, which, however, it does not require, nor are they strong enough to answer the purpose. Their use may have been to hang lamps or flowers from in solemn rejoicings¹.

The celebrated cavern at Carli 'is hewn on the face of a precipice, about two-thirds up the side of a steep hill, rising with a very scarped and regular talus, to the height of probably 800 feet above the plain. The excavations consist, besides the principal temple, of many smaller apartments and galleries, in two stories, some of them ornamented with great beauty, and evidently intended, like those at Kennery, for the lodging of monks or hermits. The temple itself is on the same general plan as that of Kennery, but half as large again, and far finer and richer. It is approached by a steep and narrow path winding up the side of the hill, among trees and brushwood, and fragments of rock. This brought us to a mean and ruinous temple of Siva, which serves as a sort of gateway to the cave. A similar small building stands on the right hand of its portico. The approach to the temple is, like that of Kennery, under a noble arch, filled up with a sort of portico screen,

¹ Narrative of a Journey, &c. vol. iii. p. 92—95.

in two stories of three intercolumniations below, and five above. In the front, but a little to the left, is the same kind of pillar as is seen at Kennery, though of larger dimensions, surmounted by three lions, back to back. Within the portico, to the right and left, are three colossal figures, in alto relievevo, of elephants, their faces looking towards the person who arrives in the portico, and their heads, tusks, and trunks very boldly projecting from the wall. On each of them is a mahout very well carved, and a howdah with two persons seated in it. The internal screen on each side of the door is covered, as at Kennery, with alto relievos, very bold, and somewhat larger than life, of naked male and female figures.' In its general arrangement Carli closely answers to Kennery ; but Bishop Heber thought that ' both in dimensions and execution it is much nobler, and more elaborate ; and that the capitals of the columns (all of them at least which are not hidden by the chatta at the east end) are very singular and beautiful. Each consists of a large cap, like a bell, finely carved, and surmounted by two elephants, with their trunks entwined, and each carrying two male and one female figure. The timber ribs which decorate the roof, whatever their use may have been, are very perfect, and have a good effect in the perspective of the interior, which is all extremely clean, and in good repair, and would be, in fact, a very noble temple for any religion ¹.'

Among the cavern temples of India the most re-

¹ Heber's Journal, &c. vol. iii. p. 112, 113.

markable, perhaps, both for the style of execution and the historical associations connected with them, are those of Ellora, situated near the ancient Hindoo capital of Deoghir, or Tagara, in the province of Aurungabad. Hamilton¹ justly remarks, ‘that without the aid of numerous plates it would be impossible to render a minute description of these excavations intelligible. The excavations, which have, with apparent propriety, been divided into Jain, Buddhist, and Brahminical, are situated in the face of a crescent-shaped hill, about a mile from the little rural village of Ellora.’ ‘The first view of this desolate religious city,’ says Mr. Erskine, ‘is grand and striking, but melancholy. The number and magnificence of the subterraneous temples, the extent and loftiness of some, the endless diversity of sculpture in others, the variety of curious foliage, of minute tracery, highly wrought pillars, rich mythological designs, sacred shrines, and colossal statues, astonish but distract the mind. From their number and diversity it is impossible to form any idea of the whole; and the first impressions only give way to a wonder not less natural, that such prodigious efforts of labour and skill should remain, from times certainly not barbarous, without a trace to tell us the hand by which they were designed, or the populous and powerful nation by which they were completed. The empire, whose pride they must have been, has passed away, and left not a memorial behind it. The religion to which we owe one part of them, indeed,

¹ Description of India, vol. ii. p. 148, 149.

continues to exist; but that which called into existence the other, like the beings by whose toil it was wrought, has been swept from the land.'

One of the groups of caves which, in contempt, is termed by the Brahmins Dehr Warra, or 'the Halâlkhors¹ Quarter,' has during the rains a very picturesque appearance. The large excavation, according to Sir Charles Malet, is very spacious and handsome, and over the front of it there must rush a small river, during the rainy season, into the plain below, forming a sheet of water, which, in a beautiful cascade, covers the façade of the temple as with a curtain of crystal. There are two benches of stone that run parallel to each other along the floor, from the entrance the whole depth of the cave, the prospect from which of the great tank, town, and valley of Ellora is beautiful. These benches appear to have been intended, as in what is called 'the Durbar' at Kennery, as seats either for students, scribes, or the sellers of certain commodities, a convenient passage lying between them up to the idol at the end of the cave².

¹ The Halâlkhors (i. e. literally those to whom every thing is lawful food) are the lowest tribe of outcasts. Forbes, Oriental Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 136.

² Asiatic Researches, vol. vi. p. 423. The reader, desirous of studying the details of these extraordinary caverns, may consult the elaborate description of Sir C. Malet. Ib. p. 382—423; Transactions of the Bombay Literary Society, articles ix. and xv.; Fitzclarence's Journal of a Route across India, p. 193—213; Seely, the Wonders of Ellora, London, 1824; Daniell's Picturesque Voyage to India, London, 1810; Langlès, Monumens anciens et modernes de l'Inde, en 150

Of the Buddhist cave-temple near Buddha Gaya, in Bahar, no very minute or elaborate description exists. The hill in which it is hewn lies about fourteen miles from Gaya, and appears to be one entire mass of granite, rough, craggy, and precipitous in its ascent. ‘The cave is situated on its southern declivity, about two-thirds from the summit: a tree immediately before it prevents its being seen from the bottom. It has only one narrow entrance from the S. two feet and a half in breadth, and six feet high, and of thickness exactly equal. This leads to a room of an oval form, with a vaulted roof, 44 feet in length from E. to W., $18\frac{1}{2}$ feet in breadth, and $10\frac{1}{4}$ in height at the centre. This immense cavity is dug entirely out of the solid rock, and is exceedingly well polished, but without any ornament. The same stone extends much farther than the excavated part, on each side of it, and is altogether, I imagine, full an hundred feet in length¹.’

planches, Paris, 1813; Trans. of the Royal Asiatic Society, vol. ii. p. 326, &c. In the ‘Modern Traveller,’ an unpretending but clever compilation, the contributions of various authorities have been abridged with much pains, India, vol. iv. p. 287—305. Anquetil Duperron has left us an elaborate description of the excavations in his Preliminary Discourse to the Zend Avesta, tom. i. p. 233—249.

¹ J. H. Harrington, Asiatic Researches, vol. i. p. 276—278. Of the antiquity or history of this cavern nothing is known. Dr. Francis Buchanan Hamilton, who has given a description of Buddha Gaya in the Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society (vol. ii. p. 40—51), thinks it probable that part of the ruins may be as ancient as the local tradition would make them, viz. coeval with the age of Buddha; but that the great

Of all these cavern-temples by far the greater number bear evident marks of having been originally consecrated to the worship of Siva, and his consort Bhavani; whose symbols, the Yoni, the Lingam, and the Bull, occupy the sanctuary of the edifice, or are at least discernible among its principal ornaments¹.

Among the most beautiful of the shrines of India is that which the Jains, who have been termed the Deists of Hindostan, have erected to the Supreme God in the mountain city of Comulmere in Rajast'hан. The design of this temple, according to Col. Tod, is truly classic. It consists only of the sanctuary, which has a vaulted dome and colonnaded portico all round. The architecture is undoubtedly Jain, which is as distinct in character from the Brahminical as their religion. There is a chasteness and simplicity in this specimen of monotheistic worship, affording a wide contrast to the elaborately sculptured shrines of the Sivas and other polytheists of India. The extreme want of decoration best attests its antiquity, entitling us to attribute it to that period when Sumpriti Raja, of the family of Chandragupta, was paramount sovereign over all these regions (200 years before Christ); to whom tradition ascribes the most ancient monuments of this faith yet existing in Rajast'hан and Saurashtra. The proportions and forms

edifice still existing, though in the last stage of decay, is of far more recent date, and perhaps not older than the tenth century of the Christian era. A Sanscrit inscription found at Gaya has been translated by Sir Charles Wilkins. See Asiatic Researches, i. 278—285.

¹ See Religion of the Hindus.

of the columns are especially distinct from the other temples, being slight and tapering instead of massive, the general characteristic of Hindoo architecture; while the projecting cornices, which would absolutely deform shafts less light, are peculiarly indicative of the Takshac architect. Sumpriti was the fourth prince in descent from Chandragupta, of the Jain faith, and the ally of Seleucus, the Grecian sovereign of Bactriana. The fragments of Megas-thenes, ambassador from Seleucus, record that this alliance was most intimate; that the daughter of the Rajpoot king was married to Seleucus, who in return for elephants and other gifts sent a body of Greek soldiers to serve Chandragupta. It is curious to contemplate the possibility, nay, the probability, that the Jain temple now before the reader may have been designed by Grecian artists, or that the taste of the artists among the Rajpoots may have been modelled after the Grecian¹.

Col. Tod describes another sacred structure in its vicinity, likewise Jain, but of a distinct character; indeed, offering a perfect contrast to that described. It was three stories in height, each tier decorated with numerous massive low columns, resting on a sculptured panelled parapet, and sustaining the roof of each story, which being very low admitted but a broken light to chase the pervading gloom. He imagines that the sacred architects of the east had studied effect equally with the preservers of learning and the arts in the dark period of Europe, when

¹ Colonel Tod, Annals of Rajast'han, vol. i. p. 670, 671.

those monuments, which must ever be her pride, arose on the ruins of paganism. How far the Saxon or Scandinavian pagan contributed to the general design of such structures may be doubted; but that their decorations, particularly the grotesque, have a powerful resemblance to the most ancient Hindoo-Scythic, there is no question.

No sect of Hindoos have exhibited so much architectural genius as the Jains. In every part of India, and in Ceylon, Burmah, &c. where their comparatively pure religion has prevailed, monuments of simple grandeur, or of elaborate elegance, have remained, a testimony of their proficiency in the arts. At Benares, indeed, in the midst of shrines and temples of remarkable beauty, the sacred building of the Jains has little to distinguish it beyond the diminutive gilt cupola by which the roof is surmounted; but the Brahmins are here so powerful, and their enemies, for such are the Jains, so much at their mercy, that it is more surprising they should possess any place of worship at all, than that it should be destitute of magnificence. Wherever this sect, free from the apprehension of persecution, have deemed it prudent to indulge their natural taste, the case is different. Even in the small obscure town of Mouzabad in Rajpootana Bishop Heber found their temple richly sculptured, with a beautifully carved dome, and three lofty pyramids of carved stone spring from the roof¹. At Calingera, a small village between Neemuch and Baroda, the same traveller ob-

¹ Narrative of a Journey, &c. vol. ii. p. 429, 430.

served the most spacious and elegant structure of the kind which he had anywhere seen in India. It was entered by a projecting portico, which led to an open vestibule covered by a dome. Numerous domes and pyramids, surmounting as many small chapels or sanctuaries, adorned the roof, and along its several fronts ran elegantly carved verandahs, supported by slender columns. ‘The domes are admirably constructed, and the execution of the whole building greatly superior to what might have been expected in such a situation. Its splendour of architecture, and its present deserted condition, were accounted for by the Thannadar, from the fact that Calingera had been a place of much traffic, and the residence of many rich traders of the Jain sect¹.’

At the city of Cairah, in Guzerat, there is a Jain temple, which, though distinguished by its striking façade, depressed domes and pyramidal sikhara, is chiefly rendered remarkable by a piece of curious mechanism which it contains. ‘Near the centre of the town are a large Jain temple and school, the former consisting of many small apartments up and down stairs, and even under ground, with a good deal of gaudy ornament, and some very beautiful carving in a dark wood like oak. In one of the upper rooms is a piece of mechanism, something like those moving clockwork groups of kings, armies, gods and goddesses, which are occasionally carried about our own country by Italians and Frenchmen, in which sundry divinities dance and salam with a sort of mu-

¹ Narrative of a Journey, &c. vol. ii. p. 529.

sical accompaniment. These figures are made chiefly of the same black wood which I have described. What they last showed us was a cellar underground, approached by a very narrow passage, and containing on an altar of the usual construction the four statues of sitting men, which are the most frequent and peculiar objects of Jain idolatry. They are of white marble, but had (as seems to have been the case with many of the images of ancient Greece) their eyes of silver, which gleamed in a very dismal and ghostly manner in the light of a solitary lamp which was burning before them, aided by a yet dimmer ray which penetrated from above through two narrow apertures, like flues in the vaulting. We were very civilly conducted over the whole of the building by one of the junior priests, the senior pundit of the place remaining, as if absorbed in heavenly things, immovable and silent during the whole of our stay. While I was in the temple a good many worshippers entered, chiefly women, each of whom, first touching one of the bells which hung from the roof, bent to the ground before one or other of the idols, depositing in some instances flowers of sugar candy before it¹.

A splendid Jain temple, on the summit of a mountain, is thus described by Lieutenant Burnes, in one of his interesting papers read before the Calcutta Asiatic Society :—

The mountain of Abú, Abujé, or Abúghad, is

¹ Narrative of a Journey, voi. i. p. 386; ii. 430. 526—530; iii. 48, 49.

situated near the 25th degree of N. lat. in the district of Sekrúl and province of Marwár, about 40 miles N.E. by E. of the camp of Désa. The magnificent temples are erected at the small village of Delwarra, about the centre of the mountain, which has an elevation of about 5000 feet, where the summit is extremely irregular and studded with peaked hills. There are four in number, all of marble, and two of them of the richest kind. They are dedicated to Párasnáth, or 'the principal of the deified saints, who, according to their creed, have successively become superior gods,' and who are believed to amount to the number of twenty-four, or as some say, to have appeared, like Hindú gods, in twenty-four different Avatárs. These are the gods of the Jain, Shráwak, or Banian castes, who are a gloomy tribe of atheistical ascetics, not unlike the Buddhists, 'who deny the authority of God, and a future state; believe that, as the trees in an uninhabited forest spring up without cultivation, so the universe is self-existent; and that the world, in short, is produced, as the spider produces its web, out of its own bowels; and that, as the banks of a river fall of themselves, there is no Supreme destroyer: they also deny the divine authority of the Védas, and worship the great Hindú gods as minor deities only.'

The building is in the figure of an oblong square, forty-four paces long by twenty-two wide (or perhaps one hundred feet by fifty); within the building, and in the centre of the area so enclosed, stands the pagoda, in which the great image of the god is placed facing eastwards. In front of this there is

an octagon of twenty-four feet, supporting on pillars and arches of marble, a cupola of the same. The pillars may be from twelve to fifteen feet high. The entrance to the temple is from a small door opposite this cupola, and the grandeur of the building is discoverable at once on entering it, and has a very imposing effect. On all sides of the area there is a colonnade; the long sides having a double row of pillars supporting small domes, within each of which are cells in the walls to the number of fifty-six, in all of which are marble images of the god. In the S.W. corner, and in a chamber detached from the building, is a colossal figure of Némináth, in black stone. The whole of the building is of the richest white marble, superbly cut into numerous devices ; and it is worthy of remark that there is not an inch of stone unornamented, and not two domes of the same pattern, though a hundred and thirty-three in number, and all carved. The grand dome is a most chaste piece of workmanship, and so light do the pillars appear, that it could hardly be imagined they could support the superincumbent weight. Adjoining to this building is a room called ‘ Háthesál,’ or the elephant-hall, which seems once to have also had a roof of domes, and in which are the figures of ten marble elephants with drivers, each about four feet high, caparisoned in the modern style of those of the native princes, with every rope, tassel, and cloth, beautifully and correctly carved, and apparently (the cars and riders excepted) from one block of marble. The workmanship is exceedingly good, and the representation of the animal is very superior to Indian

sculpture in general. The floor of this room is of black marble, while that of the temple is of white. At the door is a large equestrian statue of the founder, who, by an inscription, is described as '*Bimalnáth, a banian of Chandouli, to whom the gods had been propitious.*' It is rudely executed, and is evidently the work of later days.

The next temple to be described is the northern one, which is dedicated to Nemínáth, the twenty-second deified saint of the Jains. It is, with regard to design and material, as the one mentioned, but although of equal length it is ten paces wider, from which addition the architect has been able to make the colonnade double on all sides without contracting the area too much, and which has a good effect. The pagoda of the god is in the centre, and faces the west. It has also a cupola in front of it, the same as the other in size, though far inferior in execution; but the greatest ornament in this temple, and indeed on Abú, is a portico between this cupola and the pagoda. It is supported by pillars, and the roof is formed by nine small domes most exquisitely carved. The stones on both sides the entrance of the temple are deeper cut than any marble Lieut. Burnes ever saw, and approached in resemblance to Hogarth's line of beauty. This part of the building is said to have cost eighteen lacs of rupees. The east side of the building is divided into two compartments, but consists of one long room in which are placed ten marble elephants, which are more minutely carved than those described, the very twisting of the ropes being represented. In rear of these are the images

of the different contributors to the ‘Holy undertaking,’ rudely cut in stone, and represented as holding purses full of money ready to be appropriated. There are inscriptions under all these figures, mentioning the names of the different ‘pious individuals,’ most of whom appear to have been Banians¹.

But these provincial temples, compared with those of the capitals of Western India, are no more than so many village churches placed in juxtaposition with Westminster Abbey or St. Paul’s. The bigotry of the Patans and Moguls, whom Colonel Tod very properly denominates the Goths and Vandals of Rajasthan, has deprived the lovers of the fine arts in Hindostan of many a beautiful relic of nobler days and noblest arts; but a few exquisite structures have survived their indiscriminating rage, and of these one of the most perfect, as well as one of the most ancient specimens is found in the city of Ajmere. This noble monument of Hindoo architecture stands on the western declivity of the fortress. It is termed by the natives, ‘the shed of two and a half days,’ for they imagine it to have been the work of magic, and to have been completed within that time. ‘The temple is surrounded by a superb screen of Saracenic architecture, having the main front and gateway to the north. From its simplicity, as well as its appearance of antiquity, I am inclined to assign the screen to the first dynasty, the Ghorian sultans, who evidently employed native architects. The entrance arch is of that wavy kind, characteristic of what is

¹ See Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

termed the Saracenic, whether the term be applied to the Alhambra of Spain, or the mosques of Delhi; and I am disposed, on close examination, to pronounce it Hindoo. The entire façade of this noble entrance is covered with Arabic inscriptions. But unless my eyes much deceived me, the small frieze over the apex of the arch contained an inscription in Sanscrit, with which Arabic has been commingled, both being unintelligible. The remains of a minaret still maintain their position on the right flank of the *muezzin* to call the faithful to prayers. The design is chaste and beautiful, and the material, which is a compact limestone of a yellow colour, admitting almost of as high a polish as the *jaune antique*, gave abundant scope to the sculptor. After confessing and admiring the taste of the Vandal architect, we passed under the arch to examine the more noble production of the Hindoo. Its plan is simple, and consonant with the more ancient temples of the Jains. It is an extensive saloon, the ceiling supported by a quadruple range of columns, those of the centre being surmounted by a range of vaulted coverings; while the lateral portion, which is flat, is divided into compartments of the most elaborate sculpture. But the columns are most worthy of attention; they are unique in design, and with the exception of the cave-temples, probably among the oldest now existing in India. On examining them, ideas entirely novel, even in Hindoo art, are developed. Like all these portions of Hindoo architecture, their ornaments are very complex, and the observer will not fail to be struck with their dissimilarity: it was evidently a

rule in the art to make the ornaments of every part unlike the other, and which I have seen carried to a great extent. There may be forty columns, but not two alike. The ornaments of the base are peculiar, both as to form and execution; the lozenges, with the rich tracery surmounting them, might be transferred, not inappropriately to the Gothic cathedrals of Europe. The projections from various parts of the shaft, (which, on a small scale, may be compared to the corresponding projections of the columns in the *duomo* at Milan,) with the small niches still containing the statues, though occasionally mutilated, of the pontiffs of the Jains, give them a character which strengthens the comparison, and which would be yet more apparent, if we could afford to engrave the details. The elegant Camacumpa, the emblem of the Hindoo Ceres, with its pendant palmyra-branches, is here lost, as are many emblematical ornaments, curious in design, and elegant in their execution. Here and there occurs a richly carved corbeille, which still farther sustains the analogy between the two systems of architecture; and the capitals are at once strong and delicate: the central vault, which is the largest, is constructed after the same fashion as that described at Nadole; but the concentric annulets which in that are plain, in this are one blaze of ornaments, which, with the whole of the ceiling, is too elaborate and complicated for description. Under the most retired of the compartments, and nearly about the centre, is raised the mumba, or pulpit, whence the Moollah enunciates the dogma of Mohammed, ‘There is but one God:’ and from which he dispossessed

the Jain, whose creed was, like his own, the unity of the Godhead. But this is in unison with the feeling which dictated the external metamorphosis¹.

These details mark sufficiently the high degree of civilization that existed at a former period in India : under the Mahomedan dynasties we have attested the advanced state of the architectural art in the beautiful Taje Mehal, composed entirely of white marble, inlaid with precious stones,—the splendid Jumna Musjeed at Delhi, the elegant Cuttub Minar pillar², the palace of Shah Jehan, and the Mausoleum of Acbar ; while in the south we have the magnificent Hindoo temples of Tanjore, Madura, &c.

FINE ARTS.—Sculpture.—The art of sculpture appears at a very early period to have occupied the Hindoos. In their choice of subjects they were necessarily much influenced by the nature of their religious opinions, but there are numerous exceptions ; and among these must be reckoned various specimens of ancient sculpture still found in the dilapidated city of Mahāmalaipur, situate near the sea, at a distance of about thirty-five English miles south of Madras.

‘ The rock, or hill stone, is that which first engrosses

¹ Annals of Rajast'han, vol. i. p. 779, 780.

² In 1794 the Cuttub Minar (built 300 years ago) was described as having for its base a polygon of twenty-seven sides, rising in a circular form, the exterior fluted into twenty-seven semi-circular and angular divisions : there were four balconies at successive elevations of 90, 140, 180, and 203 feet ; the total height being 242 ; an irregular spiral staircase led from the bottom to the summit of the Minar, which was crowned with a majestic cupola of red granite, which has since fallen in.

the attention on approaching the place, for as it rises abruptly out of a level plain of great extent, consists chiefly of one single stone, and is situated very near to the sea-beach, it is such a kind of object as an inquisitive traveller would turn aside to examine. Its shape is also singular and romantic, and, from a distant view, has an appearance like some antique and lofty edifice. On coming near to the foot of the rock, on the north, works of imagery and sculpture crowd so thick upon the eye as might seem to favour the idea of a petrified city, like those that have been fabled in different parts of the world by too credulous travellers¹. On the smooth faces of the rock are sculptured, some in basso, others in alto relieve, numerous figures of gods and heroes, some indistinct and defaced by the action of the sea air, others fresh, as if newly executed. As far as can be collected from the accounts of travellers, who have bestowed far too little attention on the subject, the ancient sculptors, who adorned this remarkable city with their labours, were men of undoubted genius, capable, by their productions, of conferring pleasure, not only on their comparatively rude contemporaries, but even on men of refined judgment and taste in the present critical age. Bishop Heber bears a favourable testimony to the degree of skill displayed in the sculptures of Mahâmalaipur; he observes that the 'rocks, which in themselves are pretty and picturesque, are carved out into porticoes, temples, bas-reliefs, &c. on a much smaller scale indeed than Elephanta

¹ Asiatic Researches, vol. i. p. 147.

or Kenneri, *but some of them very beautifully executed.*' They differ from those of the north and west of India (which are almost all dedicated to Siva or Cali) in being in honour of Vishnu, whose different avatars are repeated over and over in the various temples, while he only saw the solitary lingam, if it be one, and one unfinished cave, which struck him as intended for a temple of the 'destroying power.' Many of the bas-reliefs are of great spirit and beauty; there is one of an elephant with two young ones, strikingly executed, and the general merit of the work is superior to that of Elephanta, though the size is extremely inferior¹.

The bas-reliefs on the walls of Malicarji's pagoda at Perwuttum, may be considered in many respects as some of the most extraordinary specimens of art in all India. 'The first and lowest' row of these stones,' says Captain Mackenzie, 'is covered with figures of elephants, harnessed in different ways, as if led in procession, many of them twisting up trees with their trunks. The second row is chiefly occupied with equestrian subjects; horses led ready saddled, and their manes ornamented; others tied up to

¹ Narrative of a Journey, &c. vol. iii. p. 217. Mr. Goldingham, a competent judge, agrees with Bishop Heber in considering the execution of the lions as very inferior, as well as in bestowing considerable praise on the style in which the bas-reliefs are sculptured. Even in the representation of female beauty, the artists of Mahâmalaipur had attained a high degree of skill. 'The figure and action of the goddess (Bhavani) are executed,' says Mr. Goldingham, 'in a masterly and spirited style.' Asiatic Researches, vol. v. p. 71.

pillars, some loose; a great many horsemen are represented engaged in fight, at full gallop, and armed with pikes, swords and shields; others are seen hunting the tiger, and running it through with long spears. The riders are represented very small in proportion to the horses, probably to distinguish the size of the latter, as a smaller cast seem intended to be represented among the led horses, where a few are seen lower in size, something resembling the Acheen breed of horses. All these figures are very accurately designed. It is remarkable, that several figures are represented galloping off as in flight, and at the same time drawing the bow at full stretch: these Parthian figures seem to have entirely dropped the bridle, both hands being occupied by the bow; some of them are seen advancing at full speed, and drawing the bow at the same time. This mode appears to have been practised by the Indians, as it is highly probable that the arts of common life only are here represented in the lower row. On the third row a variety of figures are represented, many of them hunting pieces; tigers, and in one place a lion, attacked by several persons; crowds of people appear on foot, many armed with bows and arrows, like the Chinsuars; many figures of Virâgis, or Yogis, are seen distinguished by large turbans, carrying their sticks, pots, and bundles, as if coming from a journey: some leaning on a stick as if tired, or decrepit from age; others approaching with a mien of respect and adoration. The fourth, fifth, sixth, and seventh rows are filled (as it would appear from the scanty information I was able to obtain) with representations of

several events regarding the deities of the place, or expressive allegories of the moral and religious dogmas of the Brahmins; and probably some may record particular events of real history. The eighth has fewer carvings than the rest; some stones are occupied by a single flower, of large size, perhaps intended for the lotos; and some, though but a few, by the figure of a god. The ninth, or upper row, is cut into openings, in the manner of battlements; and the stones between each of these apertures are alternately sculptured with the figures of the lingam, and a cow shaded by an umbrella, to signify its pre-eminence¹. Mr. Hunter saw at Oojein the images of Râma, Laschâmana, Sîta, and Râdha, in white marble, and the statue of Krishna, in black, which were all executed with ability.

Painting appears to have been less assiduously cultivated in India than sculpture, at least so far as there are the specimens extant. Forbes, an enlightened lover of the arts, and himself a painter, having bestowed high praise on the architecture of the principal temple at Chandode, observes that ‘the interior of the dome is forty feet in diameter, the concave painted by artists from Ahmedabad, on subjects in the Hindoo mythology. They are done in distemper, which is very durable in that climate; but the drawing is bad, and the style altogether hard, incorrect, and deficient in the effect of light and shade: a light

¹ Account of the pagoda at Perwuttum, Asiatic Researches, vol. v. p. 311, 312. See also, in vol. vi. p. 483, the same writer's remarks on the images found in Ceylon. Journey from Agra to Oojein, Asiatic Researches, vol. vi. p. 40.

and dark shade seem indeed to be all they are acquainted with. The modern artists have no idea of middle tints, or the harmony of colouring. The outline, though greatly inferior in proportion and line of beauty, bears some resemblance to the ancient Greek and Etruscan vases¹.

Portrait painting seems to have been long fashionable in Hindostan. I have seen in the houses of wealthy Hindoos well executed portraits in oil, and some on glass: Colonel Tod, relating the history of Sanga Rana, observes, ‘I possess his portrait, given to me by the present Rana, who has a collection of full-lengths of all his royal ancestors, from Samarsi to himself, of their exact heights, and with every bodily peculiarity, whether of complexion or form. They are valuable for the costume.’

The Hindoos, like the Chinese, copy with great exactness, even from nature; but their portraits, both of individuals and of groups, are peculiarly devoid of grace and expression—they want the touch of genius. I do not, however, agree with Mr. Mill, that they are ‘entirely without a knowledge of the perspective; and by consequence, of all those finer and nobler parts of the art of painting which have perspective for their requisite basis².

Speaking of the interior of the palace of Jeypoor, Bishop Heber remarks, that the ‘ceilings are generally low, and the rooms dark and close; both the walls and ceilings are, however, splendidly carved and painted, and some of the former are entirely

¹ Oriental Memoirs, vol. iii. p. 16.

² History of British India, vol. ii. p. 35, 36.

composed of small looking glasses, in fantastic frames of chunam mixed with talc, which have the appearance of silver, till closely examined. The subjects of the paintings are almost entirely mythological ; and their style of colouring, their attitudes, and the general gloomy silence and intricacy of the place, reminded me frequently of Belzoni's model of the Egyptian tomb¹.'

The *Music* of the Hindoos is certainly not in accordance with our ideas of harmony, though the Hindoos appear to be as much affected by it as a connoisseur at the Italian Opera. Sir William Ouseley amuses his readers with a few of the marvellous stories related by the Hindoos of the effects of their ancient music, and of the decline of taste among themselves. ‘On the subject of those ancient and extraordinary melodies,’ says he, ‘which the Hindoos call *râgs* and *râginîs*, the popular traditions are as numerous and romantic as the powers ascribed to them are miraculous. Of the six *raugs*, the first five owe their origin to the god Mahâdeva (Siva,) who produced them from his five heads. Parvati, his wife, constructed the sixth; and the thirty *râginîs* were composed by Brahma. Thus, of celestial invention, these melodies are of a peculiar genus ; and, of the three ancient genera of the Greeks, resemble most the *enharmonic*; the more modern compositions are of that species termed *diatonic*.

‘A considerable difficulty is found in setting to music the *râgs* and *râginîs*, as our system does not

¹ Narrative, vol. ii. p. 404.

supply notes or signs sufficiently expressive of the almost imperceptible elevations and depressions of the voice in these melodies, of which the time is broken and irregular, the modulations frequent, and very wild. Whatever magic was in the touch when Orpheus swept his lyre, or Timotheus filled his softly-breathing flute, the effects said to have been produced by two of the six râgs are even more extraordinary than any of those ascribed to the modes of the ancients. Mir Tansine, a wonderful musician in the time of the emperor Acbar, sung one of the night râgs at mid-day: the powers of his music were such that it instantly became night; and the darkness extended in a circle round the palace as far as the sound of his voice could be heard. I shall say little on the tradition of Naik Gopâl, another celebrated musician in the reign of Acbar, who was commanded by the emperor to sing the râg *dipaka*, which, whoever attempted to sing, should be destroyed by fire. The story is long: Naik Gopâl flew to the river Jumna, and plunged himself up to the neck in water, where Acbar, determined to prove the power of this râg, compelled the unfortunate musician to sing it, when, notwithstanding his situation in the river, flames burst violently from his body, and consumed him to ashes.

These, and other anecdotes of the same nature, are related by many of the Hindoos, and implicitly believed by some. The effect produced by the *maig multar râg*, was immediate rain: and it is told, that a singing girl once, by exerting the powers of her voice in this râg, drew down from the clouds timely and refreshing showers on the parched rice-

crops of Bengal, and thereby averted the horrors of famine from the paradise of regions. An European in that country, inquiring after those whose musical performance might produce similar effects, was answered, ‘that the art is now almost lost; but that there are still musicians possessed of those wonderful powers in the west of India.’ If one inquires in the west, they say, ‘that if any such performers remain, they are to be found only in Bengal.’

‘ Of the present music, and the sensations it excites, one can speak with greater accuracy. Many of the Hindoo melodies possess the plaintive simplicity of the Scotch and Irish, and others a wild originality, pleasing beyond description¹. Counterpoint seems not to have entered, at any time, into the system of Indian music. It is not alluded to in the manuscript treatises which I have hitherto perused; nor have I discovered that any of our ingenious orientalists speak of it as being known in Hindoostan.’

In Mr. Wilson’s translation of a Sanscrit play entitled *Mrichchhacati*, or ‘The Toy-cart,’ and supposed to have been written about a century before our era, we find the following beautiful lines on the *vina*, or Hindoo lute:—

“ Although not ocean-born², the tuneful *vina*
Is most assuredly a gem of heaven—
Like a dear friend it cheers the lonely heart,
And lends new lustre to the social meeting;
It lulls the pain that absent lovers feel,
And adds fresh impulse to the glow of passion.”

¹ The Hindoos take delight in the favourite Persian air of
—‘ *Tazzi putaza—I ben Oh.*’

² An allusion to the legend of the churning of the ocean

DOMESTIC ARTS.—Compared with England, the Hindoos have effected few improvements in the instruments of social economy. A Bengal plough is the most simple instrument imaginable : it consists of a crooked piece of wood, sharpened at one end, and covered with a plate of iron, which forms the ploughshare. A wooden handle, about two feet long, is fixed to the other end cross-ways ; and in the midst is a long straight piece of wood, or bamboo, called *tsha*, which goes between the bullocks, and falls on the middle of the yoke, to which it hangs by means of a peg, and is tied by a string. The yoke is a neat instrument, and lies over the neck of two bullocks, just before the hump, and has two pegs descending on the side of each bullock's neck, by means of which it is tied with a cord under the throat. There is only one man or boy to each plough, who with one hand holds the plough, and with the other guides the animals, by pulling them this or that way by the tail, and driving them forward with a stick.

The separating of the grain from the chaff is performed by two or more bullocks, fastened together side by side, and driven round upon a quantity of sheaves spread on the ground, by which means about 30 *maunds*¹ will be trodden out in three hours. The

by the gods and demons, at which various personages and precious articles, called *ratnas*, or “ gems,” variously enumerated, were recovered from the deep. See Wilson’s Select Specimens of the Theatre of the Hindoos, vol. i. p. 59, 60. (2d edit. London, 1835, 8vo.)

¹ The *maund* is equal to 74 pounds and two-thirds in Bengal; 37 pounds and a half at Surat; 28 pounds at Anjengo; and 25

Bengal farmers generally 'muzzle the ox in treading out the corn,' until the upper sheaves have been reduced to mere straw. The rice is then cleared from the husk by large hand-fans, one person letting the grain fall from his hands, while another winnows it. It is next deposited in granaries, or sent to the corn-merchant. The straw is piled up in stacks for the cattle, the use of hay being unknown. The scythe has not hitherto been introduced into Bengal, where even grass is cut with the sickle. The grinding mills are generally the common hand-stones, turned chiefly by women, but the following is an account of a simple mill used in the mountain streams in the north Doab : it consists of a horizontal water-wheel, with floats placed obliquely so as to receive a stream of water from a shorter funnel, the flat board being fixed in a vertical axle passing through the lower mill-stone, and held to the upper one by a short iron bar at right angles, causing it to revolve with the water-wheel ; the axle itself having a pivot working on a piece of the hardest stone that can be procured at hand,—this, with a thatched roof, and the expense or trouble of digging a cut so as to take advantage of a fall of water, is all that is required.

In the north-west and dry provinces of India, a simple but effective mode of irrigation is adopted. 'In Rajpootana,' says Col. Tod, 'from the margin of the stream on each side to the mountain's base,

at Madras. Rousseau's Persian Dictionary, *s. v.* Ward makes it 80 pounds, and observes that 320 pounds of rice in the husk are sometimes sold for a rupee! Vol. i. p. 106.

they have constructed a series of terraces rising over each other, whence by simple and ingenious methods they raise the waters to irrigate the rich crops of sugar-cane, cotton, and rice, which they cultivate upon them. Wherever soil could be found, or time decomposed these primitive rocks, a barrier was raised. When discovered, should it be in a hollow below, or on the summit of a crag, it is alike greedily seized on : even there water is found, and if you leave the path below and ascend 100 feet above the terraces, you will discover pools or reservoirs dammed in with massive trees, which serve to irrigate such insulated spots, or as nurseries to the young rice plants. A patch of ground, for which the cultivator pays six rupees rent, will produce sugar-cane 600 rupees in value¹.

Among Hindoo implements of husbandry is an excellent instrument in the form of a hoe, with a handle about two feet and a half long, and the iron as wide and strong as a spade, called a *kuddala*, which answers the purpose of a spade and hoe.

The Indian loom, though much more simple and imperfect, is in substance the same as the English. The frame is laid almost on the ground, in which a hole

¹ It is not true, as some writers suppose, that the Hindoos never manure their lands : in Canara leaves are strewed over the fields and ploughed up ; in Nagpoor (where the mode of ploughing answers Dr. Tennant's description,) they use manure to a great amount, particularly in the cultivation of sugar, the betel leaf, and tobacco. For this purpose the dung of sheep and other animals is used. In the culture of cotton the ground is manured with wood-ashes. Rept. 1830, p. 147. 211. 322.

is cut to receive the feet of the weaver while at work. Women of all castes are engaged in the preparation of the cotton-thread. The finest muslins are manufactured at Dacca, Shantipoor, Sonarga, and Vicram-poor, where the price of a single piece, which occupies the weaver four months, sometimes amounts to 400 or 500 rupees. When this muslin is laid on the grass, and the dew has fallen upon it, it is no longer discernible. Tavernier relates that the ambassador of Shah Sefi, on his return from India, presented his master with a cocoa-nut, set with jewels, containing a muslin turban, sixty covets, or thirty English yards, in length, so exquisitely fine that it could scarcely be felt by the touch; indeed, the manufacture of no modern nation can, in delicacy and fineness, vie with the textures of Hindostan.

‘The common kinds are also preferred, on the score of enduring great hardships, and retaining their whiteness better; and in respect to the coloured or prohibited goods, for the foreign markets, they will always retain their superiority. In the article of Guinea stuffs manufactured at Surat, and in request on the coast of Africa, many attempts have been made to imitate them, particularly by the French, but in vain. The Moors discover merely by the touch whether they have been manufactured in Europe or India: nor is it even to their feel and colour that they chiefly trust; they ascertain by their smell, as the indigo with which they are dyed gives them a peculiar smell which cannot be imitated¹.’

¹ Oriental Commerce, p. 297.

'The cotton manufactures of India seem anciently to have been as much admired as they are at present, not only for their delicate texture, but for the elegance with which some of them are embroidered, and the beautiful colour of the flowers with which others are adorned. From the earliest period of European intercourse with India, that country has been distinguished for the number and excellence of the substances for dyeing various colours, with which it abounded¹. The dye of the deep blue colour, in highest estimation among the Romans, bore the name of *Indicum*². From India, too, the substance used in dyeing a bright red colour seems to have been imported; and it is well known that both in the cotton and silk stuffs which we now receive from India, the blue and the red are the colours of most conspicuous lustre and beauty³.'

The tradesmen of India are numerous. Among the inferior classes, the *napitas*, or 'barbers,' claim a distinguished place, as, like their ancient brethren of Europe, they unite a certain knowledge of pharmacy with the art and mystery of shaving. No Hindoo, even of the poorest class, ever shaves himself, or cuts his own nails; and there are numbers who disdain even to clean their own ears, which operation falls to the lot of the barbers, who may be seen in the streets, seeking employment, with an instrument like a skewer, covered at one end with cot-

¹ Strabo. lib. xv. c. 1, p. 694, ed. Casaub.

² Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. xxxv. c. 6, § 27.

³ Robertson, Dissertation, &c. App. § 4.

ton, in their hands. The rich are usually shaved daily, the middling ranks once a week, the poor once in a fortnight. The operation is generally performed in the street, or under a tree, and the operator receives for his pains, from the poor a farthing, and from the rich double that sum. The wives of the barbers, who in France both shave and cut hair, are condemned in India to operate on their own sex only, for whom they cut the nails of both fingers and toes, and stain the feet and hands with henna.

The *confectioners* of India, who are in great request, make and vend nearly a hundred sorts of sweetmeats, principally composed of sugar, molasses, flour, and spices, no fruit, excepting the cocoa-nut, being ever used in these delicacies, which are in great request among the Hindoos. It is very interesting to drive along the Chitpore road at Calcutta on an evening, and examine the confectioners' shops, piled with every variety of cakes and sweetmeats, while smoking fires at the very edge of the bazaar or shops, send forth a savoury odour of refreshing delicacies.

The *potters'* caste are numerous and varied ; for besides manufacturing earthenware of different kinds, they plaster houses with clay, make bricks, tiles, spouts, balustrades, together with those little images, which, having been worshipped during certain days, are cast into the pools or rivers. Toys, also, as birds, horses, gods, coaches, and elephants, which are painted and gilt, are the work of the potter.

Blacksmiths are numerous, they make arrows, bill-hooks, the *kuddala*, or spade-hoe, the axe, the farmer's weeding-knife, the ploughshare, the sickle, the

hook to lift up the corn while the oxen are treading it out; besides nails, locks, keys, knives, chains, scissors, razors, cooking utensils, builders' and joiners' tools, instruments of war, &c.

Flower-sellers are found in great numbers in Hindoo-stan. It is a part of their business to make wedding crowns, together with the lamps and artificial flowers which are carried in marriage processions. They likewise work in gardens, and manufacture gunpowder and fire-works. Hindoo *joiners* were formerly a very rude and ignorant race, possessing no knowledge of the rule, compass or gimlet, or, indeed, of more than ten of those implements, which compose a joiner's chest of tools: but they are now richer in tools, and more skilful in the use of them. They make idols, bedsteads, window-frames, doors, boxes, seats, pillars for houses, delineate the figures of idols on boards, paint images, and sometimes engage in masonry.

The *Rajakas*, or 'washermen,' are a numerous caste. They were ignorant until recently, of the use of soap, and to this day make use of a wash composed chiefly of the ashes of the plantain, or of the *argemone mexicana*. The linen having been steeped in the wash, and boiled, is dipped repeatedly in water, and then beaten with a heavy mallet on a board, which is generally placed by the side of a pool or river. And this method, though somewhat adverse to the duration of linen, renders it much whiter than our own.

The *Suvarnakaras*, or 'goldsmiths,' display no small ingenuity in Bengal. Bishop Heber says 'the

goldsmiths of Kutch and Kattywâr emboss very neatly, by filling the cup, watch-case, box, or other vessel, with gum-lac, and punching it in, to the figure required, with a small chisel. Major Sale shewed me a watch-case and a small tankard, very prettily ornamented in this manner, with flowers, elephants, and different birds and animals.' As ornaments of gold and silver are much worn by the Hindoos of both sexes, whether young or old, this is a flourishing caste. *Distillers*, though they employ a rude apparatus, produce excellent arrack, and the Nagas and other tribes brew good beer.

Few castes of Hindoos are more despised than the *shoemakers*, principally because they work up the skin of the cow, and may thus be suspected of indirectly encouraging the slaughter of that sacred animal. However, though despised and not allowed to get drunk, they are excellent workmen, and will make a pair of shoes for four-pence; but for a good pair, which will last two years, they demand eighteen pence. In the upper parts of India they make several kinds of gilt and ornamented shoes, like those worn by the Grecian ladies, which sell in Bengal for from three to forty rupees. These merry sons of Crispin are likewise employed as musicians at weddings, feasts, and religious ceremonies; which, in the opinion of Ward, accounts in a great measure for the horrid din which on these occasions stuns the ear of an European. The Hindoo *druggists* are a respectable class of people. The *brass-founders* are numerous and skilful.

Shell-ornament-makers abound in Calcutta, where

x 2

the women sometimes wear six or eight rings of shells on each wrist. In some parts of the country all the lower part of the arm is covered with them. These trinkets, like the gold and silver ornaments possessed by the peasants of France, sometimes become a kind of heir-loom in the family, and descend from mother to daughter to the third or fourth generation¹. In different parts of India gunpowder is manufactured, cannon (both brass and iron) cast, and various warlike weapons, as also coats of mail of exquisite workmanship prepared. Paper, whether for writing, printing, or wrapping, is made in large quantities, and the introduction of a steam paper-mill at Serampore has introduced an improved material into the market. The indigo made by natives is equal to any of the European factories, and in delicateness and brilliancy of dyes they quite excel us. The Hindoo surgeons, although not equally daring as the Europeans in the large operations of amputations, &c. are quite as skilful in couching for the cataract, or cutting for the stone; and whether handicraft requires patient endurance, firmness of touch, and keenness of sight, they are not behind their Western brethren. ‘To say,’ says Bishop Heber, ‘that the Hindoos or Musulmans are deficient in any essential feature of a civilized people, is an assertion which I can scarcely suppose to be made by any who have lived with them. Their manners are at least as pleasing and courteous as those of the corresponding stations of life among ourselves ; their

¹ Ward, View, &c. vol. i. p. 98—142.

houses are larger, and, according to their wants and climate, to the full as convenient as ours ; their architecture is at least as elegant. Nor is it true that in the mechanic arts they are inferior to the general run of European nations. Where they fall short of us (which is chiefly in agricultural implements and the mechanics of common life), they are not, so far as I have understood of Italy and the South of France, surpassed in any great degree by the people of those countries. Their goldsmiths and weavers produce as beautiful fabrics as our own, and it is so far from true that they are obstinately wedded to their own patterns, that they show an anxiety to imitate our models, and do imitate them very successfully. The ships built by native artists at Bombay are notoriously as good as any which sail from London or Liverpool. The carriages and gigs which they supply at Calcutta are as handsome, though not as durable, as those of Long Acre. In the little town of Monghir, 300 miles from Calcutta, I had pistols, double-barrelled guns, and different pieces of cabinet-work brought down to my boat for sale, which in outward form (for I know no further) nobody could detect to be of Hindoo origin.'

In closing this chapter I trust sufficient facts have been adduced to prove the claims which our Hindoo fellow-subjects have on their brethren in England : I have quoted the testimony of others, in preference to recording my own observations, in order to avoid the recurrence of the charge that has been made of my being prejudiced in favour of the Hindoos, and of our colonists in general. I know of no individual

who has ever resided long in India, or attentively examined the Hindoos, without speaking warmly in their favour : I found them, whether Hindoos, Musulmans, or Parsees, grateful for even slight attentions, courteous in their manners, hospitable without ostentation, punctual in their duties, and brave without boasting,—in charity abounding, strict in religious rites, and scrupulously exact in the performance of social obligations ; of an intelligence quick and refined, docile under instruction, and expanding in comprehension. That England may treat them with justice, and no longer impoverish their beautiful and fertile land by a grasping, mercenary commercial system, which beggars the Hindoo without enriching Britain, is my fervent and anxious wish.

CHAPTER VIII.

STATE OF CRIME IN BRITISH INDIA.

INTIMATELY connected with the press, education and religion of a people, is the state of crime in a country ; the judicial establishment of India will be detailed in the next volume, and here it will only be necessary to refer to some statistics of crime. The official returns on the subject are few, not to the latest, and consequently most favourable period, and relating principally to the Bengal Presidency—such as they are, however, they demonstrate, that while crime has increased rapidly in England, owing to the poverty of

the people, and the severity and uncertainty still existing in her criminal laws, the contrary has taken place in the territories of the East India Company ; demonstrating the improved condition of the people and the beneficent nature of their government¹; for assuredly whatever elevates a nation in morality and temporal happiness, well deserves the appellation of beneficent. To begin with the highest class of offences for examination :—

Number of Persons Sentenced to Death, and to Transportation or Imprisonment for Life, by the Court of Nizamut Adawlut of Bengal, from 1816 to 1827.

First Period.	Sentenced to Death	To Transportation or Imprisonment for Life.	Second Period.	Sentenced to Death	To Transportation or Imprisonment for Life.
1816	115	282	1822	50	165
1817	114	268	1823	77	118
1818	54	261	1824	51	145
1819	94	345	1825	66	128
1820	55	324	1826	67	171
1821	58	278	1827	55	153
Totals.	490	1,758	Totals.	366	880
Decrease of death sentences on first period					124
Ditto of life transportation or imprisonment					878
Total decrease on six years					1,002

The decrease which the foregoing table exhibits will delight every friend of humanity; on death sen-

¹ Since the first edition of this work went to press, corporal punishments, as the penalty of civil crimes, have been abolished by the Anglo-Indian Government.

tences—let it be remembered that sentences of death in India are not merely *sentences*, they are in general fulfilled, unless when extraordinary circumstances intervene—there was a decrease during the first period of 124, and comparing the two last with the two first years, after an interval of ten years, the difference will be more strikingly observed :—

In 1816 and 1817, death sentences	number 229
In 1826 and 1827, ditto ditto	122
Decrease on two years	<u>107</u>

The decrease shows, therefore, an actual decrease in crime: not, as would be the case in England, only a decrease of the nominal severity of the law, which in fact is actually taking place from year to year, not only by means of legislative enactments, but also by the unwillingness of jurors to find judgments involving death; yet, notwithstanding these favourable circumstances in a comparison of India with England, the amount of capital convictions is still on the increase in the latter country.

If we place the death-sentences in juxtaposition with those of England, notwithstanding the advantages in favour of England, independent of the population in one country being 60,000,000, in the other scarcely one-fifth of the number, we shall observe yet more the improved state of Indian morality and jurisprudence.

Number of Death Sentences in England and in India for
Five Years.

Years.	In England, Population 12,000,000.	In Bengal, Population 60,000,000.
1823	968	77
1824	1,066	51
1825	1,036	66
1826	1,203	67
1827	1,529	55
Total in both Countries.....	5,802	316

Thus, while those of India decreased twenty-two between the first and last year, those of England increased 561 !

The official returns of English crime come down to 1832 : and the following is a comparison for twelve years :—

Death Sentences in England and Wales for Twelve Years.

From 1811 to 1816 number 3181

From 1827 to 1832 8194

Increase on six years 5013

From 1824 to 1830, there were in England—

Convictions number 80,882

Acquittals 22,330

No Bills found 12,387

Thus the number of acquittals and no bills found were nearly equal to half the convictions ; such is the glorious uncertainty of the law ! In the

seven years ending with 1828, the death sentences in England and Wales were 7,980, of whom 456 were executed !

It is terrible to witness such trifling with human life and human feeling as the English returns exhibit ; the man who steals a lamb, as well as he who murders the shepherd—he who forges a bank note, as well as he that slays a bank director—the impoverished wretch whose necessities or recklessness robs me of my purse, and the miscreant who wantonly takes the life of his sovereign, are equally subjected to the severest doom which earthly vengeance can inflict ; or, on the other hand, a premium is held out for crime by the uncertainty of its punishment. A thief reasons thus : ‘ If I commit this crime, I merely run the chance of being discovered ; if that chance fail me, I have another in the law, a flaw in the indictment or so ; and if the second hazard turn up against me, and I am sentenced to death, I have a third cast for life, as not more than one in eighteen are executed, and I may perhaps be one of the seventeen who escape ; should I be the unlucky one, why then fate willed it so, and it must be so.’ Thus the commission of a crime is made, by the very uncertainty of the laws, to depend on a cast of the die, or the twirl of a tee-totum ; and this is what is called justice to society and criminal jurisprudence, in this enlightened country and enlightened age ! Far better were it to adopt the Draconian code in its full spirit, and let the pickpocket be decapitated by the side of the murderer.

What is the avowed object of capital punishments ?

The prevention of crime alone; for all hopes of the reformation of the offender is cut off, by man impiously daring to disobey the command of his Creator, who emphatically declared, ‘ As I live,’ saith the Lord God, ‘ *I desire not the death of a sinner*, but rather that he should turn from his wickedness and live;’ yet men—Englishmen—calling themselves Christians, make a mockery of their professions by spilling the blood of the divine image, when acting on the inhuman Jewish code, which declares (as all savage or pagan nations do) ‘ an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth.’ Judge Park says, in passing sentence on Cook the murderer, ‘ Whoso sheddeth man’s blood, by man shall his blood be shed;’ but does this precept give any legal authority to man? Is it not merely a confirmation of the decree, that those who live by violence shall perish by violence? The divine precept is clearly, that ‘ man should turn from his wickedness and live.’ If the execution of Cook would prevent another individual from committing murder, then there might be some worldly excuse; but there would be no decree from Heaven. The declaration of the Almighty, that ‘ he who liveth by the sword shall perish by the sword,’ gave no authority to man to be the executioner of that decree; the fulfilment of it rested with the Omnipotent Being, in whose hands are the scales of judgment. But, says my Lord Brougham, man may take away the life of his fellows if it be conducive to the good of society: I deny the abstract right, for earthly creatures possess none but what are in unison with the laws of God, which are based on the eternal and im-

mutable principles of justice; and as to any conventional right, it should first be proved that the destruction of life was necessary to the prevention of crime. In Russia, capital punishment was abolished with the most beneficial consequences. In France, after the revolution, 115 capital offences were reduced to fewer than twenty, with the usual results; even in monkish Portugal, the light of truth has penetrated with some success; the results in the United States are too well known to need comment.

It is now indeed a proven fact that in proportion to the severity and uncertainty of the laws, offences against person or property are in an inverse ratio. In Tuscany, when capital punishments were abolished *in toto*, crime decreased; but in Rome, where executions daily occurred, crime increased. In a French work on Italy, published in 1793, I find the following confirmation of this statement, which has recently been doubted. The writer, in speaking of Leopold, Prince of Tuscany, thus continues:—‘ Il est occupé d'une réforme entière de sa législation. Il a vu une lumière nouvelle dans quelques livres de la France; il se hâte de la faire passer dans les lois de Florence. Il a commencé par simplifier les lois civiles, et par adoucir les lois criminelles. *Il y a dix ans que le sang n'a coulé en Toscane sur un échafaud.* La liberté seule est bannie des prisons: le grand duc les a remplies de justice et d'humanité. *Cet adoucissement des lois a adouci les mœurs publiques; les crimes graves deviennent rares depuis que les peines atroces sont abolies: les prisons de la Toscane ont été vides pendant trois mois!* ’

Spain, with more capital punishments by law, has more capital offences than any country in Europe; Majorca, under the same political government, but with milder punishments, few crimes being capital by law, has comparatively fewer offences¹; Ireland, with more severe criminal laws than England, is even more rife with bloody deeds than the latter country, which in its turn is yet more so than France, and France still more so than America, where few offences are subject to the deprivation of life. In seven years in Ireland, ending with 1828, the number of persons accused of murder were 2604! But such is the repugnance of the people to come forward as evidence, that out of the whole number of criminals, but 224 were sentenced to death, and 155 executed. This is the state of the law in a country where the pitch cap, the triangle, and the gallows have superseded mildness, conciliation, and justice. The proportion of crime in 1831 to the number of inhabitants has been in Dublin, 1 in 96; in Edinburgh, where capital punishments are far less frequent, 1 in 540; in London and Middlesex, which stands between both, the proportion has been 1 in 400; and in Cardigan, where a capital punishment is a very rare event, the proportion of commitments to the population is only 1 to 4920. In Prussia capital punishments have been much lessened, with the usual beneficial results: with an average population of 12,000,000, the executions have been comparatively unfrequent. In the seventeen years from 1818 to 1834 (inclusive), there

¹ Westminster Review for July, 1832.

have been in all 123 executions, and the crimes for which they took place are as follows :—arson, 1; voluntary manslaughter, 22; murder, 100. The one execution for arson took place in 1818, since which time, consequently, the punishment of death has been inflicted only for intentional homicide of different degrees. Even for murder, the sentence is nearly as often commuted as executed. In the whole seventeen years, there were sentenced to death for murder 187, of whom 100 only were executed.

With reference to the great diminution in severity of late years :—

In the first three years, 1818, 1819, 1820, there were executed 24.

In the last three years, 1832, 1833, 1834, there were executed 6; 2 in each year.

Murder.—Five years, ending 1824—capitally convicted 69; executed 47; or 68-100.

Five years, ending 1829—capitally convicted 50, executed 26; or 51-100.

Five years, ending 1834—capitally convicted 43; executed 16; or 37-100.

Here there is a diminution of executions in each of the two last periods, and at the same time a diminution of crime. If we compare the two extreme periods, we find one-third less crime in the last with 16 executions, than in the first with 47 executions. In Norway a code of penal law has been prepared by a commission. It was published in 1834, and has been translated into German. By it the only crimes punished capitally are murder, high treason, robbery, where the person robbed dies

in consequence of the injuries he has received, and arson where some person has lost his life by the fire. In the Duchy of Brunswick there was no execution during the reign of Charles William, which lasted from 1780 to 1806; and in a criminal code which has been prepared for Brunswick by Strombeck, an eminent lawyer of that duchy, no capital punishment is retained. The result of such humane proceedings is thus shown in Belgium.

Punishment of death in Belgium :—

Periods.	Total Executed for various Crimes.	Capital Convictions.	
		Murder.	Other capital crimes.
5 Years ending with 1304	235	150	203
5 1809	88	82	70
5 1814	71	54	49
5 1819	26	42	29
5 1824	23	38	23
5 1829	22	34	40
5 1834	None.	20	23

In the last three years twenty-two were sentenced to death for murder, of whom only four were executed.

Thus it is evident that undue severity, when combined with uncertainty, tends exceedingly to increase crime, while it is but a burlesque on religion to make the scaffold a stepping-stone to heaven; to make the twenty-four hours intervening between the sentence and execution of the culprit an expiatory period for a long life of guilt.

These remarks are scarcely made with the hope that they will be attended to in England, where the voice of reason, as well as of humanity, has been

almost raised in vain¹; but if they should be the means of encouraging the judges of the East India Company's provinces in the almost holy path they have pursued, if they should cause an amelioration of the criminal code in our colonies, or if they should assist in rescuing one individual, whether carved in ebony or in ivory, from death, or if they should even stimulate others to examine the truth of the doctrine laid down, the aim of the writer will have been accomplished.

The diminution of the crime of forgery in England since the abolition of capital punishment for the offence is strongly in proof of the remarks put forth in this chapter, as shown by the following table :—

Forgery—Two periods compared England and Wales.	From Parliamentary Returns.		To these add Forgeries “compromised and hushed up.”
	Executions.	Committals.	
5 Years, ending with 1820 5 Years, ending with 1835	94 None.	645 351	Multitudes. None.

We should remark that in the five years ending with 1820, the executions for forgery were more numerous than during any similar period from the year 1810, when the criminal returns commence, down to the abolition of the punishment of death for that

¹ Sir R. Rice, in his evidence before the Lords, in 1830, says, that among a population of 150,000 persons in Bombay, during three years, there was but one execution, and that was of an English sergeant.

offence, practically in 1830 ; and it is but fair toward the few remaining advocates of severity, to select, for the purpose of comparison, a period when their favourite instrument, the horrid scaffold, was in full activity. Let us now proceed with the Bengal statistics of crime. One table, printed by Parliament, gives the returns of the court of Nizamut Adawlut ; the following are those of the Courts of Circuit, specifying the nature of the crimes :

No. 1.—Sentences for Offences against the Person, passed by the Courts of Circuit in Bengal, at Two Periods.		
Offences.	Number of Persons sentenced.	
	1822 to 1824.	1825 to 1827.
Adultery	51	20
Affray	1,917	1,136
Assault	212	174
Manslaughter	421	250
Rape	3	2
Shooting, wounding, or poisoning.	251	199
Sodomy	5	6
Felony and Misdemeanour	189	107
Perjury	147	66
Total	3,196	1,960
Sentences of the first period	No. 3,196	
Ditto of the second do.....		1,960
Decrease of crime.....	No. 1,236	

(Continued.)

No. 2.—Sentences for Offences against Property, passed by the Courts of Circuit in Bengal, at Two Periods.		
Offences.	Number of Persons sentenced.	
	1822 to 1824.	1825 to 1827.
Arson	66	47
Burglary	1195	1036
Cattle stealing	85	31
Child stealing	107	57
Counterfeiting and uttering counterfeit coin	47	21
Embezzlement.....	108	49
Forgery and uttering	71	60
Larceny	491	223
Total	2170	1524
Sentences of the first period	No. 2170	
Ditto of the last do.		1524
Decrease of crime	No. 646	

This is a very great decrease on two years, and in looking at the years preceding those given in the first table, the diminution is yet more gratifying to behold. For instance, adulteries were, from 1816 to 1818, in number 95; felony and misdemeanour, in the same years, 376; showing a decrease on the former of 75 cases; and on the latter of 269¹. In the second table there is also a marked improvement in the country.

¹ It would be too voluminous to give the tables containing all these data.

Burglary.	Cattle Stealing.
In 1816 to 1818 .. No. 2853	In 1816 to 1818 .. No. 203
1825 to 1827 .. 1036	1825 to 1827 .. 31
Decrease No. 1817	Decrease No. 172
Embezzlement.	Larceny.
In 1816 to 1818 .. No. 150	In 1816 to 1818 .. No. 1516
1825 to 1827 .. 49	1825 to 1827 .. 223
Decrease No. 101	Decrease No. 1293

But if the foregoing Circuit Court returns be refreshing to humanity, those of the Magistrates' courts for the Lower Western provinces of Bengal are much more so, for the decrease of crime is yet more extraordinary, whether as regards offences arising from revenge, from destitution, from blood-thirstiness, or from immorality. The following shows the sentences of two years; if we had them of a more recent date, I am convinced we should observe a still greater diminution¹.

¹ The evidence of Mr. Mangles (Lords, 4th March, 1830), is confirmatory of this assumption in reference to the very great diminution in the number of crimes. 'Q. Can you state in what proportion the number of crimes has diminished? A. I think in the Lower Provinces the average of dacoities of late years is about as one and a fraction to seven, as compared with the state of things twenty-five or thirty years ago.' Mr. Mangles adds, 'in the district of Kishnagur, formerly most notorious for dacoities, that crime has decreased, from an average in former years of 250 or 300, to eighteen or twenty.'

Comparative Statement of Offences against Property and against the Person, on which the Magistrates passed Sentence in the Lower and Western Provinces of Bengal, during the Years 1826 and 1827.

Crimes.	Number Sentenced.		Decrease of Crime.
	1826	1827	
Against property	Arson	154	31
	Burglary	2,433	1,995
	Frauds and other offences	6,161	3,302
	Larceny	8,301	7,927
	Plundering	768	97
Total..... No.		17,817	13,352
Against the person.	Assault and battery	6,535	3,965
	Manslaughter	44	11
	Riot	2,259	700
Total.....		8,838	4,676
Various offences.	Bribery	289	70
	Escape from custody	149	72
	False complaint.....	1,728	652
	Neglect of duty	10,332	6,652
	Perjury	178	41
	Resistance of process	1,010	533
Total..... No.		13,869	8,075
Decrease of offences against property in one year, No....			4,465
Decrease of ditto against persons in ditto			4,162
Decrease of various other offences in ditto			5,794
Total decrease of crime in one year			14,421

In arson, burglary, fraud, larceny, bloodshed, bribery, perjury, &c. we see a rapid decrease, amounting altogether in one year to upwards of 14,000 !

In India, offences decreased one-half in one year ; in England they increased in five years at the

enormous rate of upwards of a 1000 per annum ! When commencing these tables, I have shown the number of persons sentenced to death and transportation, or imprisoned for life, by the Nizamut Adawlut : exile or incarceration sentences for seven years have thus decreased before this court :—

*Sentences of seven years' transportation or imprisonment by the
Nizamut Adawlut.*

In 1825	No. 334
1826	137
1827	65

A decrease, after one year's interval, of 269 sentences.

Another method exists for testing the efficacy of the police and of the laws, which is by looking at the returns of the higher classes of crime, whether murder or robbery with violence ; I have, therefore, prepared the following table to exhibit the result of the two periods of two years each, and I would fain indulge the hope that the view these tables, one and all, exhibit, will have some effect in England, by leading those who have heretofore opposed the abolition of capital punishment, to reflect seriously on the consequences of their perverseness. In the execution of the laws there ought to be no such hopes held as those of clemency ; the strictest justice is the greatest mercy, not only to the unfortunate individual but to society ; but by *strict* justice, I mean the proportioning of the punishment to the offence, due consideration being had to extenuating circumstances.

State of Crime in the Lower and Western Provinces of Bengal, at two periods of two Years each.

Crimes.	Lower Provinces : No. of Sentences.		Western Provinces : No. of Sentences.		Decrease of Crime.	Total Decrease in Lower and Western Pro- vinces.
	1824 and 1826.	1827 and 1828.	1824 and 1826.	1827 and 1828.		
Depredations with murder	165	96	69	460	271	189
Ditto with torture or wounding	283	194	89	901	512	389
Ditto with open violence, but without personal injury	330	221	109	83	34	49
Murder without depredation	358	196	162	311	255	56
Homicide not amounting to murder	303	248	55	311	185	126
Affrays, with loss of life	86	47	39	180	118	62
Totals.....	1525	1002	523	2246	1375	871
						1394

Under a mild and equitable system, *murders* with and without depredation, decreased 576 on two years ! If this argument be not adverse to the bloodthirsty Mosaic code which England has so long followed, I know not what is.

The number of persons charged with shooting at, stabbing, and poisoning with intent to kill, in England, have thus lamentably increased :—

In 1826	No. 47	1830	No. 80
1827	82	1831	104
1828	72	1832	132
Total	No. 201		No. 316

WESTERN PROVINCES OF INDIA ; the number of murders without depredation were—

In 1818 and 1820	. . . . .	No. 496
1827 and 1828	. . . . .	255
Decrease	. . . . .	No. 241

Under an eternal hanging system, would such a diminution have taken place ?

Affrays with loss of life were,	Homicides.
In 1821 and 1823 No. 232	In 1818 and 1820 No. 377
1827 and 1828 .. 118	1827 and 1828 .. 185
Decrease No. 114	Decrease No. 192

Depredations accompanied by torture and wounding—

In 1818 and 1820	. . . . .	No. 1000
1827 and 1828	. . . . .	512
Decrease	. . . . .	No. 488

In the Lower provinces the same offences were—		Depredations with open violence.
In 1818 and 1820 No. 319 1827 and 1828 .. 194	<hr/>	In 1818 and 1820 No. 545 1827 and 1828 .. 221
Decrease No. 125		Decrease No. 324

Mr. Robertson gives, in his pamphlet on the civil government of India, published in 1829, several tables to show the decrease of crime.

Gang-robberies were—		Wilful murders—
In 1807 . . . No. 1481 1824 234	<hr/>	In 1807 . . . No. 406 1824. 30
Decrease No. 1247		Decrease No. 376

Violent affrays—		Gang-robberies in the district of Kishnagur were—
In 1807 . . . No. 482 1824 33	<hr/>	In 1808 . . . No. 329 1824 10
Decrease No. 449		Decrease No. 319

Let us, however, proceed to a closer analytical comparison of crime in England and in the Lower and Western provinces of Bengal, as exhibited in the following parliamentary table :—

Crime in England and Wales, Lower Bengal, and the Western Provinces, sentenced to death, transportation, and imprisonment for life, in six years ending 1827; (the population of England and Wales, 13,000,000; of Lower Bengal, 40,000,000; of the Western Provinces, 20,000,000.)

Sentences.	Total Sentences and Executions from 1822 to 1827.		
	England & Wales.	Lower Provinces.	Western Provinces.
To death	6815	168	198
Transportation or imprisonment } for life	822	465	415
Executions	377	168	198
Yearly Averages.			
Sentences.	England & Wales.	Lower Provinces.	Western Provinces.
To death	1135½	28	33
Transportation or imprisonment } for life	120½	77½	69½
Executions	62½	28	33
Yearly Averages in proportion to the Population.			
Sentences.	England & Wales.	Lower Provinces.	Western Provinces.
To death	1 in 11445	1 in 1428571	1 in 606060
Transportation or imprisonment } for life	1 in 108033	1 in 516129	1 in 289159
Executions	1 in 206897	1 in 1428571	1 in 606060

While the executions in England are, in proportion to the population, one in 200,000, those in the

Lower provinces of Bengal are not more than one in 1,500,000 ; and while all sentenced to death in India experienced the punishment awarded them, in England not the 1-18th of those sentenced to die suffered. Yet has crime augmented in the latter, and diminished in the former country. In England, the condemnation to death for 21 years, from 1813 to 1833, are given as 23,700 ; executions, 933 ; giving 1128 average annual condemnations, and 44 executions ; an enormous proportion when compared with those of France or Belgium. The medium executions in France, from 1825 to 1832, amounted to 67, or 1 for 477,000 souls ; in England, from 1827 to 1833, to 44, or 1 for 295,000 souls ; in Belgium, from 1815 to 1829, to 4½, or 1 for 680,000.

The number of committals in England and in Wales in six years, stand thus :—

1805 (females 1338)	4605	1830 (females 2972)	18,107
1806 (ditto 1226)	4346	1831 (ditto 3047)	19,647
1807 (ditto 1287)	4446	1832 (ditto 3343)	20,829
Total (females 3851)	13,397	Total (females 9362)	58,583
Last period . . . (females 9362)	. . .	58,583	
First period . . . (ditto 3851)	. . .	13,397	
Increased crime (females 5511)	. . .	45,186	

These returns show the committals in England and Wales, to be, in proportion to the population, one in every 696 inhabitants. Great as this amount is, it has been exceeded during the past year. In the foregoing table England and Wales are included,

but the proportion of crime in Wales bears no comparison to England; in the latest returns England and Wales are separated :—

Committals for crime 1830¹.

In England	1 in 740	inhabitants.
Wales	1 in 2320	ditto.
Scotland	1 in 1130	ditto.
Ireland	1 in 490	ditto.

Crime appears to be on the increase in Scotland, for a few years ago the proportion was rated as one in 5093. But the state of morals must not be judged of in England by the number (740), for unfortunately in many places the proportions are less inclined to virtue's side.

It has been calculated, though I consider it overestimated, that one-fifteenth of the population of the United Kingdom subsist by prostitution; one-fifteenth by swindling, robbery, and every species of crime; and five-fifteenths are what are denominated poor, living from hand to mouth. Such have been in a great measure the effect of an ensanguined code of laws, which some have had the infatuation to propose for adoption in India. In seven years, ending with 1828, there have been in England the following executions : —93 for murder ; 104 for burglary ; 72 for highway robbery ; 37 for horse-stealing ; 31 for attempts to murder ; 27 for rape, &c. ; 23 for forgery ; 12 for coining, and several others for various offences ; the executions for crimes committed in the City of London and County of Middlesex, were in number 125.

¹ Eclectic Review.

What a wanton effusion of human blood ! Have any one of these crimes decreased ? Not one—the very reverse ; while those crimes in which death-punishments have been abolished nearly (sheep-stealing for instance), have actually decreased. The Society engaged in collecting and diffusing information on this momentous subject have recently promulgated the following :—Statistics connected with the Question of Capital Punishment.—‘ While crime has increased as it relates to non-capital offences, or those which constitute the great bulk of commitments,—while it has increased, also, as it regards those offences which continue to be visited with the punishment of death, it is a fact not less true than it is important, that, as to those offences from which this extreme but uncertain penalty has been removed, crime has diminished, as is proved by the following abstract of the parliamentary returns for England and Wales.

1st Class.—Non-capital offences, such as larcenies, &c.

	Commitments.
In three years 1827, 1828, 1829	46,833
——— 1830, 1831, 1832	51,623
——— 1833, 1834, 1835 say	51,701

Here the commitments rose from 46,833, to 51,701.

2nd Class.—Offences for which the punishment of death continues to be inflicted, viz. : arson, murder, attempted murder, robbery, rape, &c.

	Commitments.	Executions.
In three years 1827, 1828, 1829	1,705	108
——— 1830, 1831, 1832	2,236	120
——— 1833, 1834, 1835	2,247	102

CAPITAL PUNISHMENT IN THE UNITED KINGDOM. 333

Here also the commitments rose,—they rose from 1,705 to 2,247 notwithstanding the numbers executed.

3rd Class.—Offences for which the punishment of death was abolished in 1832—33, viz.: coining, forgery, horse-stealing, sheep-stealing, larcenies in dwellings, and house-breaking, (to which burglary, though nominally capital, must be added, because formerly it was often indicted as house-breaking, while the crimes continued subject to the same punishment,)

	Commitments.	Executions.
In three years 1827, 1828, 1829 . . .	4,622	96
1830, 1831, 1832 . . .	4,724	23
1833, 1834, 1835 . . .	4,292	2

In this class alone the commitments fell—namely, from 4,622 to 4,292.

This diminution of crime being confined to those cases which have ceased to be punished with death, (class 3) and not extending to the other two classes, it cannot be owing to any change of circumstances in the country. To what, then, is it owing? To two causes. First, an increased probability of prosecution; and secondly, an increased likelihood of conviction, as may be proved by the parliamentary returns. Thus in the last three years as to those offences (class 2) for which capital punishment continues, for every hundred commitments, there have been on the average only 42 convictions, while in the same period, as to the 3rd class, or those offences enumerated as having ceased to be visited with death, for every 100 commitments there have been on the average, 74 convictions.

Let us compare crime in the Company's Bengal territories (the only place whence we have returns) with offences in England, in Ireland, and in France ; with reference to the yearly averages, and the proportion to the population :

Averages of sentences, and comparison with the amount of population, in England and Wales, in France, and in Bengal.

Sentences.	Yearly Averages.			
	England, for 4 years.	Ireland, for 7 years.	France, 1 yr.(1829.)	Bengal, for 4 years.
To death	1232 $\frac{1}{4}$	270	89	59 $\frac{1}{4}$
Transportation or imprisonment for life... } Do. for 7 years	198 $\frac{1}{2}$	55 $\frac{1}{4}$	273	149 $\frac{1}{4}$
	279 $\frac{1}{4}$	81	1033	357
<hr/>				
Sentences.	Proportion of yearly Averages to Population.			
	England : Population 13,000,000.	Ireland : Population 7 to 8,000,000.	France : Population 30,000,000.	Bengal . Population 60,000,000.
To death	1 in 10547	1 in 25840	1 in 237078	1 in 1004182
Transportation or imprisonment for life	1 in 67173	1 in 126289	1 in 109890	1 in 402010
Do. for 7 years	1 in 43610	1 in 86419	1 in 29041	1 in 167669

The following extract from the Supreme Court's Reports of Calcutta, for February, 1833, adds a further gratifying instance of the decrease of crime in India.

	1830.	1831.	1832.	1833.
Number of offences . . .	2,330	1,304	1,329	—
Persons apprehended . . .	3,556	1,256	2,023	—
— convicted . . .	625	675	718	—
Property stolen . . .	Rs. 1,36,383	1,23,714	62,981	—
— recovered . . .	4,854	33,828	6,793	—

The preceding tables, as well as the facts stated in the foregoing pages, are the best criterion of the efficiency of the Company's Government, and the excellence of their criminal code¹; I question whether any country in Europe would present so

¹ In the Ultra Gangetic territories which have lately come into our possession, much is to be done: Captain Low states, that the utmost venality and perversion of justice prevails in the native courts of civil and criminal law in Tenasserim; and that the perpetrator of any crime, treason perhaps excepted, may buy himself off, if able to furnish the requisite sum. Murder is punished with death; the culprit has his head struck off by a sword. If the victim of murder is a man of rank, the whole family of the murderer suffers the same penalty with him, in order, as the Burmans allege, that the children of the criminal shall not have an opportunity of avenging his death. A traitor, and a conspirator against the king, or a man of high rank, is blown up by gunpowder, and his near relatives suffer the same fate. They are all shut up in a house filled with straw, and gunpowder, and other combustibles, and the whole is fired by a fusee. Adultery, theft, and minor offences are commutable by fine; incestuous intercourse is punished by banishment. If a priest rescues a condemned person on his way to execution, and conveys him to a pagoda, his life is spared. Whatever laws or rules were made on the subject of inheritance, were seldom very strictly attended to; and, unless the deceased individual was a man of rank, the local chief of any Burman government, in Tenasserim, used his discretion in apportioning it, taking care to pay himself handsomely for his self-constituted post of executor.

rapid and so remarkable a diminution of crime as the Bengal tables demonstrate. It is to be regretted that we have not complete tables of all India, as also returns from all the British Colonies; I would therefore suggest, that extensive statistics of crime be prepared for the India-house and Colonial office, which would not only be most valuable in themselves, but also offer the best possible proof of the condition of the people subject to the authority of the East India Company and of the Crown¹.

CHAPTER IX.

GENERAL CONDITION OF BRITISH INDIA.

No man was better qualified from his acute powers of observation, or his extensive knowledge of other countries, to form an opinion of our possessions in the East than Bishop Heber, who thus graphically dwells on this subject:—‘Southern Malwa from a mere wilderness is now a garden,’ p. 74. ‘During the years of trouble, Malwa (except in the neighbourhood of fortified towns, and among the most inaccessible

¹ It would be extremely desirable if the number of gaols in India and in the colonies, and the number of prisoners in each gaol, were specified, as also the mode of employing the prisoners, and the general effects of prison discipline. There can be no doubt that the public exposure of criminals in road gangs not only hardens the offender, but takes away, in a great measure, the dread of punishment from those inclined to crime, as witnessed by me in New South Wales.—R. M. M.

mountains) was entirely depopulated. All the villagers hereabout had emigrated chiefly into Berar, Candeish, and the Deckan : and some had become servants and camp followers to the British army, t'ill, within the last three or four years, they returned each man to his inheritance, on hearing that they might do so with safety¹.

' Every where, making due allowances for the late great droughts and consequent scarcity, amounting almost to absolute famine, with its dreadful attendant evils of pestilence and the weakening of all moral ties, the country seems to thrive under its present system of Government. The burdens of the peasantry are decidedly less in amount, and collected in a less oppressive manner, than under the old monarchy. The English name is therefore popular with all, but those who are inevitably great losers by our coming—the courtiers of the Peishwa, such of the traders as lived by the splendour of his court, and probably, though this does not appear, the Brahmins².'

' Though our influence has not done the good which might be desired or expected in Central India, that which has been done, is really considerable. Except from the poor Bheels, and from the few gangs of marauders which still lurk in different parts of the country, that country is now at peace ; and how slight are these dangers, and how easy to be borne are the oppressions of the native rajas, in comparison with the annual swarm of Pindaree horsemen, who robbed, burned, ravished, enslaved, tortured, and murdered

¹ Life of Bishop Heber, p. 98.

² Ibid. p. 211.

over the whole extent of territories from the Runn to the Bay of Bengal? While their inroads are remembered, to say nothing of Jeswunt Rao, Holkar, and Ameer Khân, the coming of the English cannot but be considered as a blessing; and I only hope, that we may not destroy the reverence and awful regard, with which our nation is still looked up to here¹.

‘The country people seem content and thriving².’

The Bishop and Archdeacon Corrie (who resided in India nearly 40 years) give the following description of the country traversed during a visitation:—

‘Sept. 15.—We passed Mirzapoor, the size and apparent opulence of which surprised me, as it is a place of no ancient importance or renown, has grown up completely since the English power has been established here, and under our government, is only an inferior civil station, with a few native troops. It is, however, a very great town, as large, I should think, as Patna, with many handsome native houses, and a vast number of mosques and temples, numerous and elegant bungalows in its outskirts; and on the opposite side of the river, a great number of boats of all kinds, moored at its ghâts, and is computed to contain between two and three hundred thousand people.

‘This is indeed a most rich and striking land. Here, in the space of little more than two hundred miles, along the same river, I have passed six towns,

¹ Life of Bishop Heber, vol. ii. p. 74.

² Ibid. p. 114.

none of them less populous than Chester,—two (Patna and Mirzapoort), more so than Birmingham ; and one, Benares, more peopled than any city in Europe, except London or Paris. And this, besides villages innumerable. I observed to Mr. Corrie, that I had expected to find agriculture in Hindostan in a flourishing state, but the great cities ruined in consequence of the ruin of the Mussulman nobles. He answered, that certainly very many ancient families had gone to decay, but he did not think the gap had been ever perceptible in his time, in this part of India, since it had been filled up by a new order rising from the middling classes, whose wealth had, during his recollection, increased very greatly. Far indeed from those cities which we had already passed decaying, most of them had much increased in the number of their houses ; and in what is a sure sign of wealth in India, the number and neatness of their ghâts and temples since he was last here. Nothing, he said, was plainer, to him, from the multitude of little improvements of this kind, of small temples and bungalows, partly in the European style, but obviously inhabited by natives, than that wealth was becoming more abundant among the middling ranks, and that such of them as are rich, are not afraid of appearing so. The great cities in the Doab, he said, were indeed scenes of desolation. The whole country round Delhi and Agra, when he first saw it, was filled with the marbled ruins of nullas, mosques and palaces, with the fragments of tanks and canals, and the vestiges of inclosures. But this ruin had occurred before the British arms had extended thus far, and

while the country was under the tyranny and never-ending invasions of the Persians, Affghans and Mah-rattas. Even here a great improvement had taken place before he left Agra, and he hoped to find a much greater on his return. He apprehended that on the whole, all India had gained under British rule, except, perhaps, Dacca and its neighbourhood, where the manufactures had been nearly ruined¹.

In another place the lamented Heber says—

‘One of the strongest proofs that I have met with of the satisfaction of the Hindoos with their rulers, was the mutual felicitations which the archdeacon overheard between two villagers near Cawnpore, and which was not intended for his ear. ‘A good rain this for the bread’ said one of the villagers to another; ‘Yes,’ was the answer, ‘and a good government under which a man may eat his bread in safety.’

But Bishop Heber is not the only testimony on which the shadows of partiality cannot be cast; Major General Sir Lionel Smith, K.C.B., an old king’s officer, who visited various parts of India, resided there a great number of years, and describes himself as very partial to the natives, says—‘I should say the condition of the people had been highly ameliorated by the government since the conquest.’ (5532.)²—‘Do not you think the people are better protected, and that they pay less than under the native government? A. Yes; the government in several bad years made remissions to them in the amount of the taxes.’ (5508.)

¹ Life of Bishop Heber, p. 314.

² Evidence before Parliament in 1832.

Mr. Robertson, in his interesting remarks on the civil government of India, thus alludes to the condition of the people, and the cultivation of the country—

‘ I have never served in the Benares province, but of Behar I can speak with confidence as being cultivated to an extent that, in many places, hardly leaves room for carriage roads. The people do not generally bear any marks of poverty.

‘ I have, as magistrate of Patna, often been surprised at the readiness with which fines of twenty or thirty rupees, commutable into only one month’s imprisonment, have been paid by common villagers; and my own belief is, that the labouring peasantry of that province are, with reference to the climate and their wants, fully as well off as the peasantry of England, certainly beyond all comparison, in a better condition than the same class in Ireland, and in many parts of Scotland.’

Mr. Harris, an extensive indigo planter, in speaking of the condition of the peasantry during the years when they fell under his observation, from 1808 to 1822, says,—‘ Their condition was greatly improved latterly, from the time I first went there, to the time I came away; their houses were better, and their condition greatly improved¹.’ ‘ The whole country (the district of Tipperah) is cultivated like a garden, there is not a spot of ground where they could feed a bullock, scarcely².’

W. Malcolm Fleming, an Indian judge, was

¹ Lords, 4288.

² Lords, 4279.

asked¹ :—‘Did the country improve during the time you were acquainted with it?—Very much. Both in population and in wealth?—Yes. Did it appear to you that there was more agricultural capital in the country when you left it than when you went to it?—Yes; certainly, much more. Was there more applied to the cultivation of land?—Yes. Was there more applied to manufactures or trade?—I do not think that there was; but there was a great deal more land brought into cultivation. Did the people appear to you more comfortable than when you first knew it?—Much more so.’

Mr. Christian described the whole country to be improved, and, with reference to the Upper Provinces, particularly stated, that ‘cultivation has extended very considerably’².

Mr. R. D. Mangles, says:—‘The incomes of the proprietors of land in the Lower Provinces, taken on the average, are equal to the government revenue; all agricultural produce has risen very considerably, and the extension of cultivation is very great’³.

Mr. Sullivan describes the ‘progress of population, increase of stock, improvements in agriculture, and the creation of capital employed in different works in Coimbatoor’⁴.

Mr. Rickards admits the ‘efforts of the government for the encouragement of agriculture’⁵.

Mr. Fortescue describes the ‘population of the Delhi territory as rapidly increasing’⁶; and, in ano-

¹ Lords, 1141.

² Ib. 905.

³ Ib. 59.

⁴ Commons, 679.

⁵ Ib. 2809.

⁶ Lords, 459.

ther place, thus depicts the blessings which have resulted from the occupation of the country by Great Britain. ‘Did the people appear to be satisfied with the administration of justice?—I do think they were particularly so. Has the revenue increased in that country of late years, since we first got possession of it?—Extremely; almost beyond calculation. And the population?—Yes; and the population also. When we took possession there were about 600 deserted villages; when I came away, there were about 400 of them that had been re-peopled again, chiefly by the descendants of those who had a proprietary right in those villages, and this in consequence of our administration¹.’

While on the subject of deserted villages, I cannot help directing the reader’s attention to an Appendix in the late Sir John Malcolm’s Central India, in which will be found detailed accounts of the villages restored, or rather recovered from the tigers and wild animals, who were their sole inmates. The total of khalsa, or government villages re-peopled in Holkar’s country, were :—In 1818, 269; 1819, 343; 1820, 508: leaving of villages uninhabited, but since peopled, 543.

In Dhar, the restoration of villages were :—In 1818, 28; 1819, 68; 1820, 52: leaving then uninhabited, 217.

In Dewas, villages restored :—In 1818, 35; 1819, 106: leaving then uninhabited, 141.

In the Bhopal, the restorations were :—In 1817,

¹ March 1830, Lords.

965 ; 1818, 302 ; 1819, 249 ; 1820, 267 : leaving untenanted, 813.

In many places not only were hundreds of villages left roofless, but the wretched inhabitants, when returning to them on the establishment of our sway, were devoured by the numerous tigers that overran the country. Captain Ambrose despatched to his superior authority in 1818, a list of the people killed by these ferocious animals in one district within the year, amounting to eighty-six ! The names of the individuals and the villages they belonged to, were stated in the return ; Sir John Malcom says, an intelligent native gave the number of men killed by the tigers, in 1818, at 150 ; in consequence of the exertions of government, much fewer lost their lives in 1819, and in 1820 scarcely any. In several other parts of India also, on the restoration of tranquillity, the tigers disputed with the returning peasantry for the possession of the villages. Such is the country which within ten or twelve years, has been reclaimed from the lair of wild beasts, and repeopled by men.

The following is a very brief abstract of *some* of the roads and bridges constructed in India since the last renewal of the E. I. Company's Charter ; the official document from which it is taken extends to ten times the length of the present statement :

BENGAL, 1812—road from Calcutta to Juggurnauth, upwards of 300 miles in length, with branches to the principal towns near which it passes.

1813—canal, between Ganges and Bugruttie rivers.

1814—military road from Calcutta to Benares, 500 miles, restored to its original width, repaired,

bridges erected, &c.; pucca road from Allahabad to Burdwan, 450 miles.

1815—erection of lighthouses at different places; building a bridge at Meerut; cutting a road 12 feet wide for beasts of burthen from Bumouree to Almorah, and cutting bridges.

1816—rebuilding the houses of the Botanical Garden; establishment of a native hospital at Patna; erection of a lighthouse at Kedgeree.

1817—repair of an ancient aqueduct in the Deyra Doon; restoration of the Delhi canal; ditto in Goruckpore; construction of a new road at Moothucollah; erection of telegraphs between Calcutta and Nagpore, 733 miles; construction of a road from Tondah to Bumouree; completion of the new road from Patna to Gyah.

1818—eight bridges built for the entrances on the land side of the city of Delhi; a new road from Puttah Ghaut to Hurripaul; ditto between Patna and Shehargatty.

1819—Construction of a chapel at Benares; extension as far as Ruderpore of the road constructed from Bumouree to Tondah in Kumaoon, for the purpose of opening a communication between the Plains and Almorah; repairing the bridge over the Rangunga, and constructing a new bridge over the Soorjoo rivers in Kumaoon.

1820—formation of a botanical garden at Saharunpore; road from the Barracpore to opposite Buddee Pantee.

1821—roads from Agra to Mhow *via* Lackheree and Mokundiah; Mhow to Delhi, by Neemutch and

Nusseerabad ; Asseerghur to Hussiangabad, then to Mhow *via* Mundlasir, and to Nagpore *via* Berham-pore and Ellichpoor ; Cawnpore to Saugor through Bundlecund, and thence to Nagpore by two routs, viz. by Jubbulpore and by Hussiangabad ; Calcutta to Nagpore, through the Singboom country.

1822—canal to unite the Hooghly with the Gan-ges, through the salt-water Lake ; survey and improvement of the port of Cuttack ; a line of tele-graphs from Fort William to Chunar ; road from Chilkeah to Howel Baugh in Kumaoon, for facilitat-ing the commerce between Tartary and the Plains.

1823—a canal to unite the Damrah and Churramunnee ; re-opening of Feroze Shah's canal in Delhi, completed ; restoration of Zabita Khan's canal in the Upper Dooab ; the course of all Murdher's canal, drawn into Delhi ; erection of a splendid new mint in Calcutta, in progress.

1824—road between Nagpore and Ryepore ; erec-tion of a chapel at Dum Dum, another at Meerut, two churches at Cawnpore, a church at Dacca, an additional church at Calcutta, and a church at Burdwan ; a new road from Mirzapore to Saugor, Jub-bulpore, Nagpore, and Omrawatty to Bhopalpore, Mhow, &c.

1825—establishment of a botanical garden at Sin-gapore ; erection of bungalows and seraias for tra-vellers in the military road from Calcutta to Benares ; road from Cuttack to Padamoondy or Aliva.

1826—a new dawk road between Calcutta and the new anchorage.

1827—four Shakesperian bridges.

1828—removing rocks in the Jumna; nine iron chain bridges over the rivers in Kumaoon.

1829—roads in the districts of Jounsi and Bhowar; a road from Balasore to the sea beach.

1830—a new road from Cuttack to Ganjam; Jynta road ditto; *via* Hooghly and Burdwan to Ban-coorah; staging bungalows and seraies at Gopeegunge, Allahabad, &c. &c.; seven telegraphic towers on the semaphore principle from Kedgeree to Calcutta.

1831—assisting the “Strand Road” at Calcutta.

MADRAS, 1815—new street on the beach; St. George’s church; bridge over the Mambaroota river.

1816—bridge over the Paramboor, and a new road between the Black Town and the N. W. approaches to Madras.

1817—formation of wells; chapel at Arcot, and one at Poonamalee.

1818—stone bridge across the Madras river; a new observatory.

1819—a road in the Neilgherry Hills; repairs to the bridges across the Cauvery.

1820—rebuilding of the lighthouse at Madras.

1821—building a church for the Missionary Society; erection of a chapel at St. Thomas’s Mount, and of a church at Vepery; a stone bulwark at Fort St. George against the inroads of the sea.

1822—erection of bridges at the island of Samoodra, in Coimbatoor; Scotch Church (St. Andrew’s.)

1823—a new cut for the Votary nullah; a new bridge, &c.

1824—a canal at Chumnapore; a church at Telli-

cherry; great road from Secunderabad to Masulipatam; great road from Madras through the Northern Circars, to the Bengal frontier.

1825—a tunnel from Fort St. George to the sea.

1826—several bridges and roads in various places.

1827—ditto ditto, all mentioned in the returns.

1828—ditto ditto, the names may be seen in the official document.

1829—military road through Coorg, and other works.

1830—a new cut across the Kendalseroo river in Nellore, &c. &c.

BOMBAY, 1814—new road from Bancoote to Mundgaum; repair of the docks, and the completion of the slope in the dock-yard; a church at Surat.

1815—from Bandorah to Gorabunder.

1816—a Scotch church; a chapel at Colabba.

1817—a tank at Bohur; chapel at Tannah; new mint.

1821—aqueduct; the flats of Bombay drained; church in the north Concan.

1821—chapel at Poonah; tank in Salsette.

1822—new wharf at Bombay.

1824—town hall undertaken.

1825—military road from south Mahratta country to coast; church at Dapooree; also churches in the east zillah, north of the Myhee, and at Baroda, and a Roman Catholic chapel at Colabba; road from Nas-sick to Bhewndy.

1826—improvement of Sion causeway; bridge over the Moolla; a new observatory, and a church at Mhow.

1827—improvement of the Bhore Ghaut ; a church at Kirkhee ; road from Malligaum to Surat.

1828—bungalows at Malabar Point, and botanical garden at Dapooree.

1831—subscription for a church at Byculla.

The lines of road proposed, in 1831, by Lord W. Bentinck, then to be constructed or repaired, or which were in progress, were—1st, the main road from Calcutta to Delhi, extending 908 miles (passing through Benares, Allahabad, Cawnpore, and Coel) ; 2nd, the completion of the road from Mirzapore to Jubbulpore (opening a communication with central India), 239 miles ; 3rd, the completion of the Cuttack road (the line between Calcutta and Madras Presidency), 248 miles ; 4th, the Calcutta and Moorshedabad road, 107 miles ; 5th, the Patna branch road, 83 miles ; and, 6th, a road from Calcutta to Dacca (opening a communication with the east frontier), 199 miles ;—total 1,784 miles. The number of prisoners at work on these roads in January, 1834, was 10,000. It is proposed also to open a road of 450 miles from Mirzapore on the Ganges, through Jubbulpore towards Bombay, as far as Amroutee, the great cotton mart of central India. Cross roads are forming in different directions.

Various other works, since undertaken or completed, not included in the foregoing return. The introduction of steam navigation on all the large rivers of India would be a boon of incalculable benefit to England and to India. A Company has been projected for this purpose by an able and public spirited gentleman, Mr. Howel.

Enough has been said to shew the present state of India ; a few words as to its condition under the

native princes may not be amiss, although the fearful details at the conclusion of the sixth chapter, vol. i., sufficiently illustrate the unfortunate situation of its inhabitants. Colonel Briggs thus describes the state of Candeish :—‘ Was it in a very unsettled state when you went there?—It was in a very unsettled state, and had been so for the last thirty years previous to our taking possession of the country. It had been overrun by bands of freebooters; I believe there were at different times about 80 distinct bodies, which had been in the habit of ravaging the country; this was the cause of its being very much depopulated. I think 1100 out of, I believe, 2700 villages, for I merely speak from recollection, were rendered desolate altogether, and those which remained were open to the pillages of a race of people denominated Bheels. These people are supposed by some to be the aborigines of the country, but they have been for a long period attached to villages as guardians or watchmen, with certain immunities in land and fees from the people themselves. The consequence of those ravages deprived the inhabitants of the means of supporting the Bheels, who went into the hills, and were in the habit of attacking the villages¹. ’

Of the Nagpore territories Mr. Jenkins thus speaks :—‘ I had scarcely arrived at Nagpoor, in 1807, before I saw the whole country in a blaze, and almost every village burning within a few miles of the city of Nagpoor, and this going on from year to year²! ’

Mr. Jenkins stated that the people were very well

¹ Lords, 4018.

² Ibid. 2197.

satisfied with the administration of justice while we had the country; their lordships then inquired:—‘From your own observation, when you went there, had you reason to believe that the people were satisfied with the native government?—Far from it, for they had little protection from foreign invasion. The Pindarees were constantly ravaging the country, and the rajah’s troops, if they were sent to suppress them, plundered them, and the zemindars plundered the ryots in the districts immediately near them¹.’

Mr. Jenkins states, that during the eight or nine years that Nagpoor was under the controul of the Company, twelve or fourteen additional banking-houses were established, the agricultural class to every appearance possessed more wealth, the expenditure of the rajah was reduced, and an annual surplus of near five lacs of rupees created.

I might fill pages upon pages with testimony equally as conclusive as that of Colonel Briggs and Mr. Jenkins; I therefore pass on to notice an assertion, ‘that the value of money in India has not undergone a visible change, and that as the money prices of grain and other commodities, and the wages of labour, have undergone no change since the establishment of the British Government in India, we may conclude that the value of money has, throughout this period, been equally steady¹.’

The following table has been prepared by the late statistical reporter at Bombay, Colonel Sykes, and laid before the parliamentary committee:—

¹ Lords, 2207.

² Rickard’s India, vol. i. p. 598.

Comparison of the wages of artificers and other public servants under the Peishwa's and British Governments in the Dukhein, in 1828 and 1814.

	Under the British rule in 1828.	Under the Peishwa's in 1814.
	Monthly Wages.	Monthly Wages.
Head carpenter .....rupees	25, 35, and 45.	15, 20, 40
Common ditto	15	12
Two sawyers	15 and 22½	8
Head smith.....	25 and 30	20
Smith	15 and 22½	12
Head Armourer.....	30	20
File man	15	12
Hammer man.....	6, 8, and 13½	7
Head leather worker	15	12
Head bricklayer.....	25 and 35	15 and 20
Tailor	9½	6
Chief of dooly bearers	15 and 20	
Groom*	8	5
Camel man	7 and 9	5
Head of palankeen hamals.....	15	10

* Under the Peishwa's government, one man attended on two horses, and one man on two camels.

The price of grain, pulse, and other articles under the respective administrations.

	Under the British rule in 1828.	Under the Peishwa's in 1814.
	Seers.	Seers.
Rice (Putnee).....per rupees	16	12
Ditto (Ambesnor)	13	9½
Wheat	18	14
Joaree (Andropogon Sporzhum)	32	21
Bajree (Panicum spicatum) ...	28	17
Dhall (Cytisus Cajan)	16	11
Ghee (clarified butter)	2	1½

This table confirms the statements of the several authorities quoted as to the improved condition of the country; for if the price of food be augmented in the Dukhein (or Deckhan) and the rate of wages be

simultaneously increased, there can be no stronger proof of prosperity, not only in that part of India referred to, but also in those parts which have been longer under the government of the East India Company. Colonel Galloway, adverting to the 'increase of cultivation, and the high price the husbandman now receives for the produce of his labour,' (Law and Constitution of India, p. 198) says, 'I have in many parts of the ceded and conquered provinces seen grain selling at 25 seers¹ per rupee, where we were credibly informed by the natives that 120 seers were often, even generally, procurable for that sum.'

As regards Bengal, I made particular inquiry in 1830 on the subject; and the authority from whom I received the following statements, is Dwarkanaut Tagore, than whom no man in Bengal is better qualified to make them. The increase of wealth, throughout Bengal², has been most rapid, notwithstanding the disadvantages under which the agriculturists labour, by the English markets being shut against their raw and manufactured produce, and the great number of artizans thrown out of employment by the introduction of piece goods, &c. from England; land purchased at Calcutta 30 years ago for 15 rupees, is now worth, and would readily sell for 300. Ten years ago a labourer in Calcutta received two rupees per month, now he is not satisfied with less than four or five rupees per month³, and there is

¹ A seer is 2lbs.

² Land is now worth 67 years' purchase of the revenue.

³ Mr. Colebrooke says, in 1804, in his Husbandry of Bengal,

even a scarcity of workmen; twelve field labourers were formerly to be had for less than one rupee a day, now half that number could not be had at that rate of wages. A cabinet-maker¹ was glad to obtain eight rupees a month for the exercise of his skill, now he readily obtains 16 or 20 rupees for the same period. I need not go through the other classes of handicraftsmen, or labourers, all have risen in a like proportion; and as to the price of food, it is sufficient to state one article as a criterion—rice, the staff of life in Bengal, was wont to be sold at eight annas (half a rupee) per maund (82lbs.); its price has increased four-fold, being now averaged at two rupees per maund. It is an indication of a rising country, when the wages of labour are on the increase, and the prices of all commodities. The most miserable districts of India, are those where shells are the sole coins, and the price of grain almost nominal. In fine, a new order of society has sprung into existence that was before unknown, the country being heretofore divided between the few nobles, in whose hands the wealth of the land was concentrated, and the bulk of the people, who were in a state of

'that a cultivator entertains a labourer for every plough, and pays him wages, on an average, one rupee per mensem, and in some districts, not half a rupee per mensem;' this was at a period when not one third of the land of a zemindary was cultivated, whereas now there is frequently not an acre on an estate un-tilled.

¹ The wages of a Hindoo carpenter at Calcutta may be estimated at 6d., of a Chinese at 2s., and of the lowest European, 6s. per day.

abject poverty ; from the latter have arisen a middle rank, which will form the connecting link between the government and the mass of the nation. The advantages to be derived from this change are incalculable ;—whenever such an order have been created, freedom and prosperity have followed in their train. Do we need example ? Look at England after the Norman conquest, when the people were serfs, and the feudal barons were the very counterparts of the India zemindars ; but watch the progress of society up to the eighth Henry, when wealth became more equally diffused ; and continue the view to the present day, when the power of the middle ranks has become so paramount, by reason of the mass of wealth and intelligence concentrated in their ranks.

The country of the foaming Guadalquivir is a melancholy illustration of a nation possessing but two ranks of society, where the most beggarly Asturian, who can support a bare existence without mental or bodily labour, claims the rank of an Hidalgo, and strongly reminds one of the lazy proud ‘ Suwars,’ so admirably delineated by Bishop Heber, in his highly interesting work. Look at Hungary and other places, where the peasantry are sold with the soil ; in fact, in every country where there have been only two extremes of society, mental and bodily despotism have supervened. The East India Company’s government have broken through that curse, —they have annihilated a feudalism which has ever marked an age of barbarism. It is true, that society has been levelled ; that the slavish dependence of the low, upon the high caste, has been severed ; and

millions of human beings are now, for the first time, learning to know their own worth, to be conscious that, by industry, talent, and integrity, they may elevate themselves to the foremost rank of society; and 'redeemed, regenerated, and disenthralled,' the meanest Indian peasant may hurl defiance at any petty tyrant, who, from the insolence of office, alleged hereditary rights, or domineering Brahminical priesthood, may still foolishly think to retain longer in subjection a submissive people, who had, alas! too long licked the dust of the earth.

In the language of Bishop Heber to the supreme Government, in 1825—' It is my earnest prayer to that good Providence, who has already made the mild and just, and stable government of British functionaries productive of so much advantage to Hidoostan, that he would preserve and prosper an influence which has been hitherto so well employed; that he would eventually make our nation the dispenser of still greater blessings to our Asiatic brethren; and in his own good time, and by such gentle and peaceable means as only are well pleasing in his sight, unite to us in community of faith, of morals, of science, and political institutions, the brave, the mild, the civilized, and highly intelligent race, who only in the above respects can be said to fall short of Britons.'

APPENDIX.

Rates of Pensions payable to European Officers and Soldiers and their Widows from Lord Clive's Fund.

Rank.	Daily Rate of Pension to Of- ficers & Soldiers.	Daily Rate of Pension to Wi- dows.
Colonels.....	12 6	6 3
Lt.-Cols. and Members of Medical Boards	10 0	5 0
Majors Senior Chaplains, and Superintending Surgeons	7 6	3 9
Captains and Surgeons	5 0	2 6
Lieuts. and Assist. Surgeons	2 6	1 3
Ensigns	2 0	1 0
Conductors of Stores	2 0	1 0
Sergeants of Artillery	0 9	0 4½
Ditto ditto having lost a limb	1 0	— —
Privates of Artillery	0 6	0 3
Ditto ditto having lost a limb	0 9	— —
Non-com. Offices and Privates of Infantry	0 4½	0 2½

The following Scale of Pensions for Non-commissioned Officers and Private Soldiers was established by the Court's Resolution of the 14th of April, 1819, communicated to Government of Bengal in the Court's Despatch, dated 21st July, 1819, and published in General Orders, dated 5th February, 1830.

All serjeants having actually served 21 years, whereof the last eight years in the capacity of serjeants, to be allowed 1s. a

day, over and above the pension derivable from Lord Clive's Fund.

All serjeants having served 14 years, and discharged on account of debilitated constitutions, to be allowed 1s. a day.

All corporals and privates discharged at their own request, after 21 years' service, to be allowed 1s. a day.

All corporals and privates discharged as unfit on account of broken constitutions, having served 14 years, to be allowed 9d. a day.

If wounded and totally unable to contribute to earn a livelihood, after 21 years' service, to be allowed 1s. 10d.

If wounded, but able to contribute to earn a livelihood, after 21 years' service, to be allowed 1s. 4d. a day.

If wounded and unable to contribute to earn a livelihood, after 14 years' service, to be allowed 1s. 6d. a day.

If wounded, but able to contribute to earn a livelihood, after 14 years' service, to be allowed 1s. a day.

If rendered totally unable to earn a livelihood from wounds, under 14 years' service, to be allowed 1s. 3d. a day.

If wounded, but able to contribute to earn a livelihood, under 14 years' service, to be allowed 9d. a day.

No soldier is entitled to the benefit of the Regulations under 21 years' service, unless his discharge contain a recommendation for pension from the Government under which he may have served.

A. BRYCE,

Paym. Military Fund.

Military Fund-Office, East India House,

28th February, 1832.

ANGLO INDIAN ARMY.

Rates of Furlough Pay in 1813, and 1832.

	Furlough Pay in 1813.	Furlough Pay in 1832.	Increase.
	per Diem. £. s. d.	per Diem. £. s. d.	per Diem. £. s. d.
Infantry.			
Colonel.....	1 5 0	1 5 0	—
Lieutenant-Colonel	1 0 0	1 0 0	—
Major	0 15 0	0 16 0	0 1 0
Captain	0 10 0	0 10 6	0 0 6
Lieutenant	0 5 0	0 6 6	0 1 6
Ensign	0 4 0	0 5 3	0 1 3
Superintending Surgeon	0 15 0	0 16 0	0 1 0
Surgeon	0 10 0	0 10 6	0 0 6
Assistant Surgeon.....	0 5 0	0 6 6	0 1 6
Cavalry.			
Colonel.....	1 12 6	1 12 8	—
Lieutenant-Colonel	1 2 10	1 3 0	0 0 2
Major	0 19 1	0 19 3	0 0 2
Captain	0 14 9	0 14 7	—
Lieutenant	0 9 0	0 9 0	—
Cornet	0 8 0	0 8 0	—
Artillery.			
Colonel.....	1 5 0	1 5 0	—
Lieutenant-colonel	1 0 0	1 0 0	—
Major	0 15 0	0 16 11	0 1 11
Captain	17 10 0	0 11 1	—
Lieutenant	8 15 0	0 6 10	—
Second Lieutenant	7 10 0	0 5 7	—
	per month.		

In 1813 the Furlough Pay of the Officers of Engineers was the same as that of the Infantry; in Nov. 1823 it was assimilated to that of the Artillery officers.—Letters to Bengal, dated 25th Nov. 1823.

Officers of the E. I. Company's Army in receipt of pay on Furlough in England, with the Amount of Charges, in each Year since the Furlough Regulation in 1796, to the present time.

	No.	Charge.
1796	81	15641
1797	107	20537
1798	115	23860
1799	93	21592
1800	95	26183
1801	100	27402
1802	116	32447
1803	157	42157
1804	177	43104
1805	171	52855
1806	238	58919
1807	209	52904
1808	276	65326
1809	253	62124
1810	229	61859
1811	213	60556
1812	227	62781
1813	237	65801
1814	264	65454
1815	227	64915
1816	234	61209
1817	269	65089
1818	295	67085
1819	292	75989
1820	296	83354
1821	301	86205
1822	340	92268
1823	350	101022
1824	351	106104
1825	385	115594
1826	417	129212
1827	430	135305
1828	492	150350
1829	532	164753
1830	598	178005
1831	639	179041

Rates of Retiring Allowances to European Commissioned Officers of the Company's Service on Full and Half-Pay in 1813 and 1832.

	Full Pay on Retirement in 1813.	Full Pay on Retirement in 1832.	Increase.	Half-Pay on Retirement in 1813.	Half-Pay on Retirement in 1832.	Increase.	Half-Pay on Retirement in 1832.	Increase.
Colonel	11. 5s. p'diem 11. —	11. 5s. p'diem 11. —	—	10s. p'diem	11s. p'diem	1s. p'diem	11s. p'diem	1s. p'diem.
Lieut. Do.	500l. p' ann. —	500l. p' ann. —	—	200l. p' ann. 1s. p'diem	700l. p' ann. 1s. p'diem	—	9s. 6d. p'diem	2s. —
Member of Med. Board ...								
Under 5 Years								
Above 5 Years								
Major	15s. p'diem	300l. p' ann. —	300l. p' ann. —	300l. p' ann. 365l. —	65l. p' ann. 6d. p'diem	5s. p'diem	7s. p'diem	2s. —
Sup. Surgeon								
Under 5 Years								
Above 5 Years								
Captain	10s. p'diem	10s. 6d. p'diem	10s. 6d. p'diem	10s. 6d. —	6d. —	5s. —	7s. —	2s. —
Surgeon	—	—	—	6s. 6d. —	—	—	—	—
Lieutenant	5s. —	6s. 6d. —	6s. 6d. —	6s. 6d. —	1s. 6d. —	2s. 6d. —	4s. —	1s. 6d. —
Assistant Surgeon	5s. —	6s. 6d. —	6s. 6d. —	6s. 3d. —	1s. 3d. —	2s. —	3s. —	1s. —
Ensign or Cornet	5s. —	—	—	—	—	—	—	—

European Commissioned Officers in receipt of the full and half-pay, with the amount of charge in each year, from the commencement of the retiring regulation, in 1796, to the present time, specifying the proportion per hundred of Retired Officers.

	Full and Half Pay.	Charge.	Establishment.	Proportion per cent.
1797	9	£3129	2142	0·41
1798	22	6728	2306	0·95
1799	39	9656	2592	1·5
1800	51	17696	2859	1·78
1801	71	23452	3084	2·3
1802	78	21830	3174	2·45
1803	93	29040	3185	2·92
1804	131	33849	3378	3·87
1805	146	42671	3614	4·04
1806	157	46050	3693	4·24
1807	181	42053	3907	4·63
1808	220	58221	3907	5·64
1809	240	60515	3918	6·12
1810	260	67994	3951	6·58
1811	268	76301	3951	6·75
1812	298	77719	3951	7·54
1813	314	83374	3935	7·97
1814	323	81663	3935	8·2
1815	332	79968	4064	8·16
1816	341	83514	4120	8·27
1817	345	85271	3285	10·5
1818	353	83666	3490	10·11
1819	358	84169	4598	7·8
1820	373	85742	4628	8·6
1821	375	83092	4689	7·98
1822	377	82012	4689	8·04
1823	392	84594	4920	7·98
1824	402	82595	5011	8·02
1825	442	89800	5191	8·59
1826	447	94094	5356	8·34
1827	477	96099	5422	8·8
1828	491	101674	5430	9·04
1829	507	100741	4833	10·49
1830	520	107395	4833	10·75
1831	543	115798	4833	11·23

Statement of the Advances in England by the East India Company for each of the several Military Funds in India during the last Four Years (1825-26 to 1828-29), and Rate at which those Advances are Repayable in India.

Years.	BENGAL.		MADRAS.		BOMBAY.		Repayable at 2s. 4d. per Sicca Rupee, and Interest at 5 per Cent. from Date of Advance to Day of Repayment.	Repayable at 2s. 3d. per Madras Rupee, and Interest at 5 per Cent. from Date of Advance to Day of Repayment.	Total.
	Civil Fund. Donation.	Military Orphan Society.	Civil Fund.	Military Fund.	Medical Fund.	Civil Fund.			
1825-26	£ 2500	£ 15000	£ 7600	£ 36500	£ 22000	£ 7600	£ 22000	£ 10000	£ 123200
1826-27	2500	16500	8800	37500	24000	9500	120000	8700	119500
1827-28	2500	19500	11500	35100	26000	8500	24000	6000	133100
1828-29	2500	25000	8100	35000	27000	8700	15000	11500	132800
	10000	76000	36000	144100	99000	34300	73000	36200	508600

The Court also advanced the Bengal Civil Fund 10,000*l.* in June, 1828, which was repaid with interest on the 16th of November, 1829.

Drafts from India on the Court in favour of the Bengal Civil Fund in the following years, at 2*s.* 1*d.* per sicca rupee, and twelve months after date.

	<i>£ s. d.</i>
Paid 1825-26.....	16418 0 7
1826-27.....	10000 0 0
1827-28.....	10000 0 0
1828-29.....	12000 0 0
	<hr/>
	48418 0 7

Statement, exhibiting the Aid rendered by the Company, directly and indirectly, towards the support of the several Funds of British India.

	Direct Aid.	Aid by a high Rate of Interest on the Balances.	Aid by a high Rate of Ex- change in Remit- tances.	Total.
BENGAL:				
Civil Fund	£ 2500	£ 1914	£ 1355	£ 5769
Military ditto	2344	5206	4336	11886
Ditto Orphan ditto.....	—	1425	2054	3479
MADRAS:				
Civil Fund	4595	4817	9274	18686
Military ditto	1677	4095	6440	12212
Medical ditto	335	1943	2215	4493
BOMBAY:				
Civil Fund	2157	1534	4701	8382
Military ditto	767	3028	2318	6113
Total per Annum ... £	14365	23962	32693	71020

Officers, Soldiers, and Widows in receipt of Pensions from Lord Clive's Fund; with the aggregate Amount of charge.

Dates.	Officers.	Soldiers.	Widows.	Aggregate.
1814	53	352	144	13421
1815	50	384	144	12799
1816	53	409	146	13201
1817	54	414	155	13065
1818	51	432	164	13742
1819	56	437	179	15120
1820	55	457	201	18286
1821	58	480	203	18470
1822	55	510	214	19314
1823	59	583	233	21140
1824	54	619	256	22090
1825	32	666	261	22567
1826	35	682	303	26215
1827	35	789	333	28502
1828	36	899	349	31937
1829	37	1085	372	35115
1830	38	1111	389	36660
1831	44	1145	396	38349

APPENDIX E.

Money applied to the Educating of the Natives of India from 1823 to the latest period which can be made out. [India House Return, J. C. Melville.]

Dates.	Bengal.	Madras.	Bombay.	Total.
1813	4207	480	442	5129
1814	11606	480	499	12585
1815	4405	480	537	5422
1816	5146	480	578	6204
1817	5177	480	795	6452
1818	5211	480	630	6321
1819	7191	480	1270	8941
1820	5807	480	1401	7688
1821	6882	480	594	7956
1822	9081	480	594	10155
1823	6134	480	594	7208
1824	19970	480	1434	21884
1825	57122	480	8961	66563
1826	21623	480	5309	27412
1827	30077	2140	13096	45313
1828	22797	2980	10064	35841
1829	24663	3614	9799	38076
1830	28748	2946	12636	44330

Net Import or Export of Treasure into and from the Three Ports of Calcutta, Fort St. George, and Bombay, in each Year, from 1813-14 to 1832-33, inclusive.

Year.	Company's Account.						Private Account.					
	Bengal.		Madras.		Bombay.		Bengal.		Madras.		Bombay.	
	S. R.	S. R.	S. R.	S. R.	S. R.	S. R.	S. R.	S. R.	S. R.	S. R.	S. R.	S. R.
1813-14	...	22,97,880*	...	39,216	22,97,880*	54,41,288	2,28,117	4,85,636*	5,83,769	...	...	...
1814-15	...	4,69,243*	1,36,486	4,30,027*	181,9,935	4,28,891	11,78,005	1,1,38,715	...	...	...	...
1815-16	...	161*	144*	1,36,325	1,80,18,321	1,63,860	42,20,342	2,24,02,523	...	...	...	...
1816-17	76,99,554	...	76,99,410	3,16,82	80,034	8,73,203	55,53,943	3,81,10,131	...	...	...	...
1817-18	9,51,130	88*	1,081	10,31,076	3,17,09,779	9,31,124	88,61,504	4,15,02,407	...	...	...	...
1818-19	19,76,657	1,081	2,26,974*	19,75,576	4,69,12,956	17,13,002	1,46,32,391	6,32,38,349	...	...	...	...
1819-20	61,86,415	2,543*	9,97,218	59,56,898	3,13,60,689	...	47,10,836	3,60,7,325	...	...	...	...
1820-21	12,17,282	2,366	2,17,698*	2,17,698*	2,12,60,596	16,83,310	41,74,719	2,7,18,625	...	...	...	...
1821-22	1,13,16,410*	28,13,819*	67,670*	1,41,97,899	2,03,74,551	16,20,825	32,51,805	2,52,4,181	...	...	...	...
1822-23	...	2,510*	28,46,239*	28,48,749*	1,70,52,507	20,95,634	39,24,521	2,30,2,662	...	...	...	...
1823-24	62,94,526*	51,38,476*	8,63,145*	1,22,96,147*	1,17,24,118	8,780*	41,62,614	1,58,77,952	...	...	...	...
1824-25	9,27,221*	17,82,029*	...	27,09,250	87,19,973	7,70,637	49,90,620	1,44,81,230	...	...	...	...
1825-26	1,57,968	45,69,399*	...	44,11,431*	1,01,13,299	9,02,214	92,88,098	2,03,03,611	...	...	...	...
1826-27	42,61,976	10,51,084	...	53,13,060	69,11,320	1,06,731	79,83,172	1,50,01,223	...	...	...	...
1827-28	18,81,822*	28,29,000*	...	47,10,912*	1,15,40,417	7,15,850	1,06,25,615	2,29,11,882	...	...	...	...
1828-29	14,33,984	2,81,373*	...	11,52,611	33,61,349	1,37,351	96,49,071	1,31,47,771	...	...	...	...
1829-30	7,92,747	40,50,834*	...	32,58,087	73,77,185	3,90,413*	78,16,069	1,48,09,841	...	...	...	...
1830-31	4,93,322	...	21,10,298	4,93,322	22,13,790	11,900	72,13,938	94,39,628	...	...	...	...
1831-32	73,89,815*	...	95,00,113*	5,19,823*	11,53,479*	46,73,352	30,09,050	...	...	...	...	...
1832-33	12,82,940*	2,40,964*	...	15,23,904*	13,79,512*	15,10,079*	28,99,407	9,816	...	...	...	...

Note.—The Sums marked with an Asterisk denote the Net Exports.

Note.—In this Account, Madras and Bombay are converted into Sixteen Rupees, at the bullion rate of 106.62 to 100.

Net expenses of the East India Company's College at Haileybury, from its establishment to 1830-31 (the latest returns), with the number of Students in each year.

Years. 1st Period.	Total Ex- penditure.	Years. 2nd Period.	Total Ex- penditure.	No. of Students.	Statement showing the cost of Philosophical Instruments, Books, Medals, &c.		Statement showing the Salaries of Professors, Servants, &c.
					1st Period.	2nd Period.	
1805-6	£ 16747	1818-19	£ 10353	11	66	204	£ 550
1806-7	20946	1819-20	11526	40	86	773	637
1807-8	30465	1820-21	11181	72	87	1383	1824
1808-9	21967	1821-22	9870	79	76	959	1684
1809-10	23134	1822-23	10356	90	76	1121	3224
1810-11	24906	1823-24	14135	81	87	1184	1399
1811-12	10475	1824-25	10820	84	90	828	1184
1812-13	13847	1825-26	10847	73	95	1118	2783
1813-14	10048	1826-27	10603	73	86	1478	986
1814-15	9642	1827-28	12949	94	82	675	1091
1815-16	11918	1828-29	12001	78	91	653	595
1816-17	10278	1829-30	14908	73	94	1160	5476
1817-18	10153	1830-31	9352	61	73	685	819
Total...£	214526	Total...£	148901	909	1059	12221	21322
							110981
							109749

L O N D O N :
G I L B E R T A N D R I V I N G T O N , P R I N T E R S ,
S T . J O H N ' S S Q U A R E .

